Dr. *HUTCHINSON*'s

Hiſtorical Eſſay

CONCERNING

WITCHCRAFT.

AN HISTORICAL ESSAY CONCERNING WITCHCRAFT.

WITH

OBSERVATIONS

UPON

MATTERS of FACT;

Tending to clear the Texts of the Sacred Scriptures, and confute the vulgar Errors about that Point.

AND ALSO

TWO SERMONS:

One in Proof of the Christian Religion; the other concerning Good and Evil Angels.

By FRANCIS HUTCHINSON, D.D. Chaplain in Ordinary to His Majesty, and Minister of St. *James*'s Parish in St. *Edmund's-Bury*.

PSALM xxxi. 6. *I have hated them that hold superstitious Vanities: but I trust in the Lord.*
I TIM. iv. 7. *But refuse profane and old Wives Fables, and exercise thy self rather unto Godliness.*

The SECOND EDITION, with considerable Additions.

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To the

RIGHT HONOURABLE

THOMAS Lord *PARKER*,

Lord Chief Juſtice of *England:*

To the

RIGHT HONOURABLE

Sir *PETER KING*, Kt.

Lord Chief Juſtice of *Common Pleas:*

And to the

RIGHT HONOURABLE

Sir *THOMAS BURT*, Kt.

Lord Chief Baron of *Exchequer.*

MY LORDS,

I Humbly take leave to preſent your Lordſhips with the following Hiſtorical Collections and Obſervations, which have lain by me ſeveral Years; and,

and, it may be, had ſtill ſlept in Obſcurity, if a new Book, which very likely may do ſome Miſchief, had not lately come forth in Two Volumes, under the pompous Title of *A Complete Hiſtory of Magick, Sorcery, and Witchcraft*, &c.

I did not keep it by me ſo long, becauſe I had any doubts about the Truth of thoſe Notions which I endeavour to defend in it. I think it a Point very certain, That tho' the ſober Belief of good and bad Spirits is an eſſential Part of every good Chriſtian's Faith, yet imaginary Communications with them, have been the Spring both of the worſt Corruptions of Religion, and the greateſt Perverſions of Juſtice. How many miſerable Creatures have been hang'd or burnt as *Witches* and *Wizzards* in other Countries, and former Ages? In our own Nation, even ſince the Reformation, above a hundred and forty have been executed, if my Book hath any

Truth

Truth in it, very much upon the Account of one ill tranſlated Text of Scripture. If the ſame Notions were to prevail again, (and Superſtition is never far off) no Man's Life would be ſafe in his own Houſe; for the fantaſtick Doctrines that ſupport the vulgar Opinions of Witchcraft, rob us of all the Defences that God and Nature have plac'd for our Security againſt falſe Accuſations. For in other Caſes, when wicked or miſtaken People charge us with Crimes of which we are not guilty, we clear our ſelves by ſhewing, that at that time we were at home, or in ſome other Place, about our honeſt Buſineſs: But in Proſecutions for Witchcraft, that moſt natural and juſt Defence is a mere Jeſt; for if any wicked Perſon affirms, or any crack'd brain Girl imagines, or any lying Spirit makes her believe, that ſhe ſees any old Woman, or other Perſon purſuing her in her Viſions, the Defenders of the vulgar Witchcraft tack an imaginary, unprov'd *Compact* to the *De-*

position, and hang the accus'd Parties for things that were doing, when they were, perhaps, asleep upon their Beds, or saying their Prayers; or, perhaps, in the Accuser's own Possession, with double Irons upon them. But as such fantastick Notions are so far from raising their sickly Visions into legal Evidence, that they are grounded upon the very Dregs of Pagan and Popish Superstitions, and leave the Lives of innocent Men naked, without Defence against them: To whom should I dedicate their Confutation, but to your Lordships, whom, with your learned Brethren, the *Best of Kings* hath appointed Guardians of his Subjects Rights and Lives; and whom universal Knowledge and great Experience have qualify'd for the true Judgment of such dark Cases?

I need not inform your Lordships what Reception these Notions will find among different Persons; what Opposition from some, and what Neglect from others.

As

As the very Nature of the Subject carries both Horror and Difficulty, polite Men, and great Lovers of Eaſe, will turn away their Thoughts from it with Diſdain; and tho' it be of as much Importance as a ſanguinary Law, and the Lives of Men, and the Honour of our Nation's Juſtice can make it, they will rather let the ſeveral Schemes take their own Courſe, than ſully and diſturb their own Minds, or engage their Reputations about them.

Dark ſuperſtitious Tempers, that uſually form their Religion ſuitable to their own Complexions, will always have a Bias towards the Belief of them; and upon every ſudden Surprize, will be frighted into Actions that will diſturb the Places where they ſhall be, and greatly hurt the ſuſpected Perſons.

The

The credulous Multitude will ever be ready to try their Tricks, and ſwim the old Women, and wonder at and magnify every unaccountable Symptom and odd Accident.

We Clergymen are not thought to have kept our Order altogether free from Blame in this Matter. In our laſt famous Tryal of *Jane Wenham* in *Hertfordſhire*, ſome of our Gown, tho' otherwiſe Men of no ill Character, were ſo weak as to try Charms, and give way to ſcratching, and promote the Proſecution. *Wierus*, a learned Phyſician in *Germany*, who in his Practice had been much concern'd in Caſes of this Nature, accuſes us Clergymen in Terms too ſevere. Saith he, *Ad gravem hanc impietatem connivent Theologi pleriq; omnes.* That tho' the common Proſecution of Witches was a very ſad Impiety, the greateſt Part of the Clergy winked at it, and let it paſs. I hope his Charge was too ſevere and general

general even for Popish Countries: I am sure it is for ours; for tho' Reverence to our Act of Parliament, and the Influence of an ill-translated Text, and fear of loose People carrying the Notion too far the other way, may have made some pious Men too fearful in opposing the vulgar Opinions, yet in the main, I believe our Church of *England* and its Clergy, have as little to answer for in this Respect as any.

A Year or two before the Parliament made this Statute against *feeding* and *rewarding*, and *giving suck* to evil Spirits; the Convocation had made the 72[d] Canon, which subjects to the Penalties of Imposture, any Clergyman who should undertake to use Prayers for casting out of Devils, unless he first had a License granted under the Seal of the Bishop of that Place; and I do not meet with more than one License granted in all the six Score Years that have since pass'd.

Dr.

Dr. *Morton*, Biſhop of *Litchfield* and *Coventry*, diſcovered the Villanies of the Boy of *Bilſon*, and particularly his piſſing thro' Ink, and ſav'd the Life of the Woman that was under Condemnation. *See the Sixth Detection of Impoſtors.*

Dr. *Harſenet*, when he was Chaplain to Archbiſhop *Bancroft*, and who was himſelf afterward Archbiſhop of *York*, both diſproved and ridiculed theſe Follies with greater Freedom than I have ventur'd to make uſe of. And that any that ſhall be diſpoſed to find Faults, may ſee that the Notions in my Book are neither new, nor contrary to the Doctrines of our Church, but well agreeing with the Opinions of the greateſt Men that have been of it; I will quote at large ſome Paſſages out of his *Declaration of* Popiſh *Impoſtures*. See Chap. 21. " It is a Que-
" ſtion moved by *Scaliger*, why Men of
" a melancholick Conſtitution be more
" ſubject to Fears, Fancies and Imagi-
" nations

" nations of Devils and Witches, than
" other Tempers be? His Anſwer is, *Quia ab atrâ Bile atri & fuliginoſi generantur Spiritus qui Cerebrum pingunt turbulentis Phantaſmatibus.* " Becauſe
" from their black and ſooty Blood,
" gloomy fuliginous Spirits do fume in-
" to their Brain, which bring back gloo-
" my and frightful Images, Repreſen-
" tations and Similitudes in them.

A few Lines after he gives us his Opinion of *Bodin* the Author of *Dæmono-*
" *mania.* " *John Bodin*, the *French-*
" *man*, ſaith he, is a perfect Idea of
" this, who being in his younger Years
" of a moſt piercing, quick, ſpecula-
" tive Wit, which grew of a light, ſtir-
" ring, diſcurſive Melancholy in him,
" fell, (as *Hermogenes* the Mirror of
" Wit did) in the middle of his Age
" to be a pure Sot, &c. And had his
" Brain *veram ſedem Dæmonum*, the
" the Theatre and Sport-Houſe for De-
" vils to dance in, &c. That a Man

" may ſee a great deal of *Madneſs* mixt " with his great Wit. For he holds, " that Devils may transform themſelves " into any Shape of Beaſts or Simili- " tude of Men, and may eat, drink, " and converſe familiarly with them, " and may have Act of Generation " with Women as they pleaſe. And not " that only, but that a Witch by Oint- " ments and Charms may transform her " ſelf into the Shape of any Beaſt, Bird, " or Fiſh: That ſhe may fly in the " Air; that ſhe may deprive Men of " their generative Power; that ſhe may " transfer Corn out of one Field into " another, and may cauſe Hail, Thun- " der and Wind, at her Pleaſure. " And he defends *Lycanthropia*, and " the Change of *Ulyſſes*'s Men into " Swine by the Witch *Circe*, to be real " and true: And above all he tells " that unſavoury, melancholy, and ri- " diculous Tale of an *Egg* which a " Witch ſold to an *Engliſhman*, and " by the ſame transformed him into an

" Aſs,

" Aſs, and made him her Market Mule
" three Years to ride on to buy Butter;
" and how at laſt ſhe remorphiz'd him
" into the Native Shape of a Man a-
" gain.

Page 131. " Theſe Things, ſaith he,
" are raked together out of old doating
" Heathen Hiſtoriographers, Wizzardi-
" zing Augurs, Impoſturizing Sooth-
" ſayers, Dreaming Poets, Chimerical
" Conceiters, and Coiners of Fables, &c.
" P. 136. Out of theſe, ſaith he, is
" ſhap'd us the true Idea of a *Witch*, an
" old weather-beaten *Crone*, having her
" Chin and her Knees meeting for Age,
" walking like a Bow leaning on a Staff,
" Hollow-Ey'd, Untooth'd, Furrow'd
" on her Face, having her Lips trem-
" bling with the Palſy, going mum-
" bling in the Streets: One that hath
" forgotten her *Pater-Noſter*, and yet
" hath a ſhrewd Tongue to call a *Drab*
" a *Drab*. If ſhe hath learn'd of an
" old Wife at a Chimney End, *Pax*,

" *Max*,

" *Max*, *Fax*, for a Spell; or can ſay
" Sir *John Grantham*'s Curſe for the
" Millers Eels, All ye that have ſto-
" len the Miller's Eels, *laudate Domi-*
" *num de Cœlis:* And all they that
" have conſented thereto, *Benedicamus*
" *Domino:* Why then beware, look
" about you my Neighbours. If any of
" you have a Sheep ſick of the Gid-
" dies, or a Hog of the Mumps, or
" a Horſe of the Staggers, or a kna-
" viſh Boy of the School, or an idle
" Girl of the Wheel, or a young
" Drab of the Sullens, and hath not
" Fat enough for her Porrage, or But-
" ter enough for her Bread, and ſhe
" hath a little Help of the *Epilepſy*
" or *Cramp*, to teach her to roll her
" Eyes, wry her Mouth, gnaſh her
" Teeth, ſtartle with her Body, hold
" her Arms and Hands ſtiff, &c. And
" then with an *old Mother Nobs* hath
" by Chance call'd her *Idle young Houſ-*
" *wife*, or bid the Devil ſcratch her;
" then no doubt but Mother *Nobs*
" is

" is the Witch, and the young Girl is
" *Owl-blasted*, &c.

" They that have their Brains baited, and their Fancies distemper'd with the Imaginations and Apprehensions of Witches, Conjurers, and Fairies, and all that Lymphatical *Chimæra*, I find to be marshall'd in one of these five Ranks; Children, Fools, Women, Cowards, sick or black melancholick discompos'd Wits.

One would have thought such a just Rally coming from so good a Hand, and back'd with such Authority as he had, should have sham'd and ridicul'd it out of the World: But the Seeds of this Evil lie deep, and many a cruel Tragedy of the same Sort hath been acted since, and many a Book written with great Assurances on the other side of the Question. Dr. *More*, and Mr. *Glanville*, and Mr. *Baxter*, &c. have defended and pretended to solve the grossest

of the Notions that he expoſes. Since the Return of King *Charles* II. there have been written the following Books that I have met with for upholding the ſame Notions.

Meric Caſaubon of Credulity and Incredulity.

His Preface before Dr. *Dee*'s Tranſactions of Spirits.

The Tryal of *Amy Duny* and *Roſe Cullender*, before the Lord Chief Baron *Hale*.

The Hiſtory of *Lapland*.

The Devil of Maſcon.

A pleaſant Treatiſe of Witches.

The Opinion of Witchcraft vindicated.

Dr. Burthogg's *Eſſay upon Reaſon, and the Nature of Spirits.*

Mr. Baxter's *Certainty of the World of Spirits.*

Dr.

Dr. *More* and Mr. *Glanvil's* Collections.

Satan's Invisible World. By Mr. *Sinclare.*

A Blow to Modern Sadducism. By a Member of the Royal Society.

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Mr. *Turner's* Folio.

Mr. *Increase* and Mr. *Cotton Mather's* several Tracts.

Sadducismus Debellatus: Or an Account of the seven that were hang'd in *Scotland* in 1697.

Mr. *Beaumont.*

Two or three Pieces writ againſt *Jane Wenham* in *Hertfordſhire*, even reflecting upon the Judge, becauſe he would not hang her.

In the Year 1717, *The Compleat Hiſtory of Magick, Sorcery, and Witchcraft.*

Theſe Books and Narratives are in Tradeſmen's Shops, and Farmer's Houſes, and are read with great Eagerneſs, and are continually levening the Minds of the Youth, who delight in ſuch Subjects; and conſidering what ſore Evils theſe Notions bring where they prevail, I hope no Man will think but that they muſt ſtill be combated, oppos'd, and kept down.

As Dr. *Harſenet* was in hopes of *ridiculing* and *ſhaming* them out of the World, I have examined their Foundation, and compared their Facts and Conſequences with the cooleſt Reaſon

I could make uſe of; and it hath all along been a Pleaſure to me to think, That tho' the Subject was irkſome and unpopular, and very unpleaſant; and tho' even the pious and learned Dr. *More* brands all thoſe that oppoſe his Notions, with the odious Names of *Hag-Advocates*, yet I have ventur'd to bear theſe Reproaches, and run all Hazards, becauſe it is on the Behalf of thoſe that were drawn to Death, and were not able to plead their own Cauſe againſt *Hebrew Criticiſms*, and fallacious, tho' deep Reaſonings.

When one Mr. *Burroughs*, a Clergyman, who ſome ſome few Years ſince was hang'd in *New-England*, as a Wizzard, ſtood upon his Tryal, he pull'd out of his Pocket a Leaf that he had got of Mr. *Ady*'s Book, to prove that the Scripture Witchcrafts were not like ours: And as that Defence was not able to ſave him, I humbly offer my Book as an Argument on the Behalf of all

 ſuch

ſuch miſerable People, who may ever in Time to come be drawn into the ſame Danger in our Nation. And, with all Honour and Submiſſion of it to your Lordſhip's Judgments, I humbly lay it at your Feet for Protection, as far as it is right, and deſerves your Favour.

I am,

My LORDS,

(With great Deference and Honour)

Your LORDSHIPS

Moſt Humble, and

Obedient Servant,

FRANCIS HUTCHINSON.

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A DIALOGUE BETWIXT *A* Clergy-Man, *a* Scotch Advocate, *and an* English Jury-Man.

CHAP. I.

Clerg. A GOOD Morning to you, Neighbour. Are all well at Home, that you are here this Forenoon?

Jur. Thanks be to God, we are in good Health: But I am come at this time to desire your Opinion and Advice; and therefore I chose

the Morning, in hope to find you moſt at Leiſure. You know how much Diſcourſe there hath been about the poor Woman, who hath ſuffered a great deal already, and is now in Goal upon Suſpicion of Witchcraft. Now I received a Summons laſt Night to ſerve upon the Jury that is to try her. But tho' I never in my Life refuſed to ſerve my Country as well as I have been able, yet I have a great Mind to ſtay at Home now, and deſire ſome Friend to excuſe me.

Clerg. I would not adviſe that; ſince the Law of the Nation puts the Judgment upon you, and with due Care you may preſerve your Innocence: For if the Caſe be not very plain, ſave Life.

Jur. But I am pretty ſure, that the Caſe will not be plain. For I have heard already, perhaps as much as I ſhall at the time of Tryal; and for my Life I know not what Judgment to make of it. I happened once to hear two very Learned and Good Men diſcourſe juſt ſuch a Caſe, and inſtead of clearing the Point, they diſputed themſelves into a Paſſion: And therefore, if you do adviſe me to appear in ſo difficult a Caſe, pray let me know a little what you have met with about theſe dark Matters.

Clerg. You could not have come to me at a better Time, for my Friend that is here with me, lives in *Scotland*, and hath been *Advocate* in the Tryals of Witches; and as I hope our happy *Union* of Intereſts and Counſels will be a Means of improving one another in all uſeful Notions,

Notions, as far as either of us have had the Opportunity of ſeeing farther than the other in any Caſe, I am glad of this Occaſion, that you may have my Friend's Opinion as well as mine. And therefore you ſhall put to us as many Doubts as you have upon you: And for Argument's ſake, I will make the beſt I can of the poor Woman's Caſe, and Mr. *Advocate* ſhall urge the Caſe againſt her.

Jur. The firſt thing they tell me of her, is, That the afflicted Perſon falls into Fits, as ſoon as the Woman is brought into the Room where ſhe is.

Clerg. But did ſhe fall into any ſuch Fits, before common Fame, or ſome Accident or Fancy, had given this poor Woman this frightful Character of a Witch? If not, her Fits may proceed only from her own Imagination: For an ill-grounded Fear hath the ſame Effect upon the Imagination, that a Fear hath which is reaſonable. I once knew ſome Young Gentlewomen dreſs up a Poſt like an Apparition, and put it where one of their Play-fellows was to come, and it threw her into Fits, that kept her ſenſeleſs for a great while, and might as well have kill'd her. Now if ſome fooliſh *Young Women*, by lying Stories, or otherwiſe, are made as fearful of this poor Creature, as that *Girl* was of a Spirit, is it any wonder, that ſhe falls into Fits when ſhe ſees her?

Adv. I allow this, if ſhe *ſees* her: But many afflicted Perſons fall into Fits, when the *ſuppoſed* Witch hath been brought in, ſo as the Party hath not ſeen her.

Clerg. But perhaps they expected her, and perceived her coming by the Countenances, or Whiſpers of the Company. But if not by that way, I would ask you, What is the Reaſon why ſome Perſons fall into an Agony, if there be a *Cat* in the Room, tho' they do not ſee her?

Adv. Some Scent or ſecret Communication of Spirits, that are the common Ground of all ſuch Antipathies.

Clerg. And when ſome poor old Creature, through Poverty, and Old Age, and bad Diet, and want of convenient Linen, is grown naſty, may ſhe not have ſome rank unſavoury Smell, that may grow to an Antipathy againſt thoſe that have fallen into Fits by their Fear at the Sight of her? *Pliny*, and many others alſo ſuppoſe theſe ill Scents may be to the Degree of *Venom* and *Infection:* And we need not wonder at it: For every Malignant *Fever* makes any of us venomous for the time it laſts. This may be the Cauſe why *Young Perſons* are more ſubject to theſe Afflictions than Old; for they are more apt to take both Fears and Infections. This may be the Reaſon why it is ſo often thought to be taken from the Witches *Breath*, as if they could breathe *Evil Spirits* rather than Infection. Now this is a juſt Cauſe, why *Children* and *fearful People* ſhould be kept from ſuppoſed Witches: But if the Friends of the Afflicted bring them together, and try Experiments, and then puniſh the poor Women for the Conſequences; for ought I know, they may be as much to blame, as if they ſhould put Per-

ſons

sons to Death for being sick of infectious Diseases.

Jur. But the bare *Fits* make the least Part of the Wonder. They tell of strange Actions beside them.

Clerg. And yet they may be *Natural Fits* and *Vapours*, for all that. For when some sort of Fits which are undoubtedly Natural, continue, they alter the Habit of the Body: Whence many times there grows a lurking Intermitting *Fever*, and *Delirium*, or *particular Madness*; and then their Fancies and strange Symptoms are more surprizing. There are marvellous Effects, both in their Minds, Eyes, Ears, Voices, and whole Body.

Their Minds will sometimes be so clouded, and oppressed, and dull, that they think themselves *Dead:* At another time, they shall be *elevated* far above their usual Pitch. Those that were slow, and of a few Words in their Health, shall then be full of Raptures and High Discourses, and give strange Answers, and repeat Prayers or Chapters by Memory; and sometimes speak their Fancies in Verse.

In deep *Melancholy*, they shall think themselves *Glass*, or a *Rotten Stick*, or *Kings* and *Queens*, or even God himself. Now if the Stories that were before in their Heads, or any present Circumstances, bring the Point of Witchcraft or Witches into their Imagination; why may they not think themselves bewitch'd by those they hear of, or believe that they are *Witches* themselves? Why may they not fancy

themſelves Witches, or Wizards, as well as Kings and Queens?

Then their *Eyes* are ſo deceived, that they believe they ſee in Reality any thing that inwardly dances in their Imagination. Thence we come to have *ſo many Apparitions* and *Spectres*, and *Sights* of Perſons, who are at home at that time about their lawful Occaſions.

Their *Ears* are as much deceived as their Eyes. They fancy they hear Muſick and Voices, and talk with the Phantoms, that they think they ſee. But what doth it ſignify what they imagine themſelves to ſee or hear? Their Brain is diſordered, and we may as well fetch Witneſſes out of *Bedlam*, as build any thing upon what they ſay.

Then *Vapours* have as ſtrange Effects upon the *Organs* of their *Speech*: Inſomuch that they will often imitate moſt Noiſes that they hear or think of. I have been told of one that did but hear ſome *Hogs* that uſed to go often under the Window, and he grunted like them. Another would Crow like ſome *Cock Chickens* that were in a Coop near. In that Madneſs that comes from the Biting of a Mad Dog, the Perſon will Bark, and Snatch at thoſe that are near, and even think himſelf a *Dog*, and Lap inſtead of Drinking.

Another thing that is very obſervable, is the great *Strength* that they have at ſuch Times. One Hour they will lie ſtiff, that you cannot bend them: The next Hour (perhaps when thoſe fixed Spirits are kindled into a rapid Motion)

Three

Three Men ſhall hardly hold them from really acting that which happens to be in their Mind. If their Imagination leads them to run at ſuch a Time, their great Strength and nimble Motion ſhall make them go as if they flew: And if they happen to give a Skip, they ſhall throw themſelves to a great Height or Length.

Convulſive Motions turn their Heads, as if their Necks were broken; draw their Mouths on one ſide: wring their Arms out of Joint: turn their Eyes inward, and make them lamentable Spectacles.

If Blood be extravaſated ſlowly, the Heat of the Stomach in a little time may form it into odd Figures, that when they are vomited, may ſeem very ſurprizing, Or if it hath received any Seed or Spawn, the Heat and Nouriſhment may produce the Animal.

Pins or Needles that have been ſwallowed long before, will work their way to the outward Parts of the Body, and be taken out of the Perſons Thighs or Sides. There are many Inſtances of that Nature, where there hath been no manner of Reaſon to think of Witchcraft.

Jur. I ſuppoſe the meeting with theſe Things in their Practice, may be the Reaſon, why they ſay, that *Phyſicians* give leaſt Ear to Stories of Witches: But all theſe put together, will not reach the undoubted Facts that are told in moſt of theſe Caſes.

Clerg. Therefore we have a great many other Matters to conſider of. One is the great Addition that will be made to the ſtrangeneſs of

ſuch Caſes, if the Perſons themſelves give their Minds to do thoſe Things that will encreaſe the Wonder. There are few under ſuch kind of Afflictions, but do it a little: For People naturally delight to make Things ſtrange and marvellous, that thoſe that ſee them may have the Pleaſure of wondering, and they themſelves may be admired or pitied: But too many go a great way farther, even to a wicked Management of their *own* Diſtempers, and *counterfeiting* Symptoms that their Diſeaſes did not occaſion.

Jur. Sure none can be ſo deſperately wicked, as to add counterfeit Tricks to a real Diſtemper, that puts them into Pain and Danger. It is hardly charitable to think that.

Clerg. Virtuous Perſons, who judge of others by themſelves, can never imagine what wicked Wretches, or humourſome People, or thoſe that are ſecretly encouraged or managed by others, will do. And therefore, as ſtrange as this ſeems, *Mahomet* did it, and the *Maid* of *Kent*, and in all Probability, the *Surrey* Impoſtor, and other, as you will find afterward in ſome following Narrations. There was a Work of Nature, an odd Diſtemper for the Foundation; and upon that they grafted ſuch Practices as deceived great Multitudes. For, tho' a Diſtemper *at firſt* be ſurprizing, and puts the afflicted Perſons beyond their Thoughts of Tricking, yet a little Time makes them familiar with their own Calamity; and when they find themſelves come ſafe out of ſtrange Fits, and begin to have the Uſe of their Thoughts, while they are in them, and hear what

what Judgments are made of their Caſe; they manage their Calamity to the ſerving their own *Intereſt*, or *Party*, or *Paſſion*, or *Humour*: And when ſome cunning Fellow, who hath a Body fit for it, falls into this wicked way, it is hardly to be believed, how they can diſtort their own Bodies.

And here, tho' I ſhall mention many Inſtances that will be thought ſtrange, by thoſe pious Perſons who have had their Minds upon better Things than the Tricks of ſuch Raſcals; yet I will name none but ſuch as I have either read in ſober Authors, or heard from very good Hands. It is common then with ſuch, that by *long holding* their Breath, they can throw themſelves into real Fits when they will. By often moving and ſtretching the Skin of their Heads, if the Hair be ſhort, they can make it ſtand upright like an angry Dog;. and then they will Bark, and Snarl, and run upon all Four, as if they were changed into Maſtives. They can turn their Eyes inward, ſwallow their Tongues, foam at the Mouth, and put their own Arms, or Legs, or Back-bones out of Joint. They can huff up their Bellies, that they may ſeem much ſwell'd: And at other Times they can ſuck up their Breath, and draw in their Guts, till the By-ſtanders may feel the Backbone.

One, a very honeſt Man, not long ſince of my own Pariſh, would thruſt a Pin to the Head, into a hallow Place of his Arm without Bleeding. Some Counterfeits can ſpeak out of their Bellies with a little or no Motion of their Lips.

They

They can change their Voices, that they ſhall not be like their own. They can make, that what they ſay ſhall be heard, as if it was from a different Part of the Room, or as if it came from their own Fundament. And as this laſt may perhaps ſeem as unlikely as any I have named, I will confirm it with the Teſtimony of the Univerſity of *Montpelier* in *France.* The Occaſion of their giving their Judgment was this. After the *Nuns* of *Loudon*, in the Year 1634. had brought great Wealth to their Nunnery by thoſe Counterfeit Poſſeſſions, for which they have been famous ever ſince; Poſſeſſions and Accuſations of Witches encreaſed in many Places thereabouts, and particularly in the Dioceſe of *Niſmes.* To ſtop the growing Evil, Cardinal *Mazarin* (who was at that Time only the *Pope*'s Legat at *Avignon)* threaten'd ſome of them with ſevere Puniſhments; and one *Santerre* collected the Signs of Poſſeſſion, that appeared in the ſuppoſed *Dæmoniacks*, and laid them before the Univerſity of *Montpelier* for their Judgment. Now his 6th Queſtion was, *Whether Barking or Crying like a Dog, that ſeem'd to come from the Fundament, rather than the Throat, was a ſure Sign of a Dæmoniack?* The Anſwer of the Univerſity is, *L'Induſtrie Humaine eſt ſi ſouple a Countrefaire,* &c. *Human Induſtry can go ſo far in Imitation, that it is ſeen every Day, that Perſons learn to imitate, in great Perfection, the* Way, *the* Cry, *the* Note, *of all kind of Creatures, and do it ſo as one ſhall perceive no Motion in their*

their Lips. There are alſo many that can form Words and Voices in their Stomach, which ſhall ſeem to come from others, rather than the Perſon that ſpeaks them. Such People are call'd Engaſtriloques, *or* Ventriloquiſts; *as* Paſquier *hath obſerved, in the 38th Ch. of his* Recherches, *from the Example of a Buffoon, call'd* Conſtantine. *Vid.* Hiſtorie *de* Diables *de* Loudun, *p.* 320.

Then beſides theſe, there are a Multitude of Tricks that may be done by ſleight of Hand; and pretending to vomit Pins, and Stones, and Clouts. I will give you an Account, if you deſire it, before we part, of ſeveral, who have ſtood in the Pillory for this very Trick of vomiting Pins.

Beſides theſe, there are twice as many more, and twice as ſtrange, that may be done, if the *Impoſtor* hath *Confederates* to give him Intelligence, and carry on his Tricks. Then they can reveal Secrets, tell who comes at a Diſtance, anſwer by Voices, make Things ſeem to move without Hands, or ſhew Spirits. It is not to be imagined, how they may deceive a credulous Company, when one that is their Confederate pretends to wonder as much as any: And for my part, when I hear of ſuch odd Things, I take it for granted, that there is a *Confederate*, and I cannot forbear looking in *this* World for his Confederate, before I look in the *other*. I do in this Caſe, as we all do in the Caſe of *Robberies*, or *Houſebreaking*. If there be a plain Fact, that one could not do, we ſay poſitively

there was a *Partner:* And tho' no one can ſay, but that *Partner* might be a *Devil*; for an Evil Spirit can unlock a Door, or help a Thief in at a high Window, and would be as ready to help a *Thief* as a Juggler: Yet for all that, we ſhould deſpiſe ſuch an Anſwer, and think our ſelves much in the right, in concluding, that his Partner was of *Fleſh* and *Blood*, and not a *Familiar*. I think the ſame, when I hear of ſtrange Stories of *Jugglers* and *Conjurers*, or People that are ſaid to be bewitched. If they are ſuch as a Confederate *Partner* can do, I take it for granted, that the *Familiar* is one of his own *bad Companions*, that ſhares with him in the Profit, or joins with him in the Humour.

Adv. There is no doubt, but this, that you ſay, is *generally* true, and ought to be in the Minds of thoſe who have to do with theſe Caſes. But for all that, you know very well, that there are Facts, that no *Fleſhly* Familiar can be the Author of; and therefore, if you think you have ſaid enough of theſe Kinds of natural Solutions, let us come to the Caſe of *Spirits*. You Clergymen do not uſe to be backward in that Point: For you teach us from your Pulpits to believe the Being of *Spirits*, both Good and Bad, and their Preſence and Miniſtration in the World.

Clerg. We do ſo, the Divine Writings teaching us the ſame Doctrine that we teach others: And the ſoundeſt *Philoſophy* and ſobereſt *Reaſon* give great Confirmation to it. For is it not Irrational to imagine, that we poor Worms of the

the Earth ſhould be the Head of the Creation? Can we once think, that the Almighty Spirit ſhould have no Creatures more Excellent than we are, to admire his Works, and know and Worſhip him? When we ſee our own changeable, infected, diſordered Region full of Creatures with Life, Senſe and Reaſon, can we believe that the Immenſe, and Pure, and Celeſtial Places above, are without any? It is no ways to be imagined; but on the contrary, that there are Superior Beings intermediate, betwixt the Divine Nature and ours. But when we have ſaid this, we muſt add, that both Philoſophers and Chriſtians that have ventured to define their Natures, or Works, have been very various in their Notions of them; and for the Holy Scriptures that are our only ſure Rule, tho' they give us many Inſtances of the Employment both of the Good and Evil Spirits, they teach us none ſuch as we commonly meet with in the Modern Relations of Witchcraft. For the vulgar Opinion is, that the Devil is ſomething like a *Man*, but with *Tail*, and *Claws*, and *Horns*, and a *Cloven-Foot*. The Narratives tell us, that he makes *Compacts* with the Witches, and lies with them, and ſucks their Blood: And that at their bidding, he kills Children and Cattle, and ſinks Ships by Sea, and carries them to foreign Meetings, where they revel with other Witches, and drink up the Wine in Princes Cellars: Now the Holy Scriptures tell us no ſuch Tales as theſe, nor any thing like them. And howſoever ſome take Pains to join the Scripture Relations and theſe,

as close as they can together; in my Opinion, they do Religion no Service by it. They are very different Things, and upon the Credit of very different Witnesses; and I think we should let each of them stand upon their own Foundations. The Scripture Facts soberly interpreted, agree with the Notions we have of God and Providence, and the Laws of Nature; whereas these confound the Laws of Nature, and destroy the Testimony of our Senses, in some Cases, as much as Transubstantiation. The Scripture Relations are witnessed by *Prophets* and *Apostles*, that are venerable for a Divine Goodness and Virtue: The gross Part of our Stories of the Devil, are grounded upon the Confessions of Brainsick People, after Superstition or ill Usage had made them Mad. And therefore, I am in no fear but the Scripture Relations will approve themselves to the Consciences of Wise and Good Men for ever; whereas with respect to the latter, I doubt not but the Time will come, when we shall be satisfied, that even in Cases of Blood we have been much too credulous.

That you may judge the better, whether I have any Reason to speak after this manner, I will lay before you several of the most remarkable Facts and Tryals that we have had; and we will argue upon such of them as seem best to deserve Consideration: That is the fairest way, I think, and most likely to lead us right. For Rational Arguments without Facts, can never decide this Case. A Man may as well compose a true System of Natural Philosophy, without

Experi-

Experiments, as ſtate the Caſe of Witchcraft, without a careful Enquiry into thoſe Appearances of it, that have made ſo many wiſe Men believe it. I have here a Chronological Table, which I have formerly drawn up, of Things, either of this Nature, or a-kin to it; and tho' I pretend not that it is perfect, yet it is pretty large, and if you pleaſe I will read it to you.

Adv. That muſt be in it ſelf entertaining, as well as ſerviceable for the Deciſion of the Point before us; and therefore pray let us have it.

Clerg. I will give it you as it is, Title and all.

CHAP. II.

A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE *of the Executions, or Tryals of ſuppoſed Witches and Conjurers: As alſo of Impoſtors, Poyſoners, Counterfeit Poſſeſſions: Together with the Rebellions, Treaſons, and great Miſchiefs occaſioned by Fortune-Tellers, Conjurers,* &c. *As alſo the* Laws *and* Canons, *that have been made againſt ſuch Perſons: And*

And lastly, what Learned Men have suffered great Loss and Trouble by the Slanders and Calumnies of this sort.

The Years of the World near which these Things happened.

A. M.

2000 ZOroastres was a King, and Astrologer, and a Learned Man, and is usually said to be the first Author of Diabolical Magick: But *Naudæus*, in his Apology for Learned Men, that have been unjustly accused of Magick, says, he was only a Learned Astronomer.

2300 The ancient Inhabitants of *Canaan* were much addicted to Divination, Necromancy, Soothsaying, *&c.*

The *Chaldæi* in *Assyria*; the *Brachmans* in *India*; the *Magi* in *Persia*; the *Druids* in *Britain*, were the Priests and Philosophers of those Times, and Places, and mingled much Divination with their Religion and Learning.

2453 *Jannes* and *Jambres* oppose their Art to the Divine Miracles of *Moses*.

2453 The Divine Law forbad all Use of these Arts.

2886 *Saul* either destroy'd or banished the Practisers of them; yet in a great Fear and Dejection of Mind, he himself afterwards enquired of one of these People at *Endor*.

Numa

Numa Pompilius pretended Commerce with the Goddess *Egeria*, and 3220
founded the Rites and Religion of the *Romans*; and by many Writings concerning Witchcraft, is counted among the famous Magicians. *See Gabr. Naud. c.* 11.

Manasses, an Idolater, and Consulter with Diviners, &c. 3251

Josias put away such People. 3308

Pythagoras, a learned Philosopher, is commonly, but falsely said to have used 3420
Magick. *Gabr. Naud.*

The Laws of the Twelve Tables at *Rome*; amongst which this, *Qui fruges* 3497
excantassit. Neve alionam segetem Pollexeris; That no one should use Charms to draw their Neighbour's Corn into their Fields.

About this Time, a Woman gave her Sweetheart a Love-Cup; and contrary to her Expectation, it kill'd him. Being in danger of being punished, she appealed to the famous Court of *Areopagus*; and they set her free without Punishment, because she did not design him any Harm. *Arist.* Ἠθικ. μεγάλ.

About this same time, or sooner, the *Lemnii* took, and carried away many *Grecian* Women, and had Children by them. But afterward being estranged from them, the Women poysoned both Men and Children. *Suidas*.

Theoris, put to Death by the People of *Athens*, as a Witch. She was accused 3600
by her Maid, who shewed them her Medicaments and Charms. *Demosthenes* having

Occaſion to ſpeak of her, calls her that *Lemnian* Woman, that φαρμακίδα; and in ſpeaking of her, he uſes both the Terms of Witchery and Impoſture, βάσκανος μαγγανεύει, φενακίζει. But he concludes with a Jeſt upon her and her Partner, for pretending to heal others of the *Falling Sickneſs*, when they themſelves were ſick of all kinds of Vices. *Demoſt. Orat.* 1. *adv. Ariſtog.*

The Jeſt of *Demoſthenes* upon the Oracle at *Delphi*, is famous. He ſaid *Apollo* did φιλιππίζειν, lean towards King *Philip*, more than towards them; whence he is uſually quoted, as one that did not think that the *Oracles* ſpake by Spirits, but by Men that would take Money.

The *Lex Cornelia* againſt Poyſon, and
Mala Sacrificia, was made when *Cor-* 3625
nelia, and 170 *Roman* Women, of the
better Quality, were put to Death for poiſoning thoſe they had a Mind to remove. *Liv. Dec.* 1. *l.* 8.

The *Jews* pretended to work Wonders by the *Tetragrammaton* and *Cabala.*

The *Epheſia Grammata* were thought to work Wonders amongſt the *Greeks*. If they were to wreſtle, or run, or plead a Cauſe in Law, they would carry theſe to help themſelves, and hinder their Adverſaries.

Furius Creſinus was accuſed of Magic, becauſe he had better Crops of Corn than his Neighbours. For his Defence he brought before them his heavy Plows, and Spades, and Sun-burnt Daughters, and ſaid, they were the Charms that he made Uſe of. *Plin. Nat. Hiſt.*

The

The Years since our blessed Saviour.

Tiberius put many honourable Citizens
to Death, pretending that they had consul- A°.14.
ted with *Chaldæans*. *D. Loier* p. 140.

Germanicus, Nephew of *Tiberius*, died.
There were found in Corners of his Lodg- 19
ings, Charms, Curses; his Name upon Leaden Tables, Pieces of Man's Flesh, and Ashes, and other Things used in Witchcraft; but he was killed by real Poyson. *Tac. Ann. l.* 2.

Pontius Pilate destroyed many of the most virtuous *Jews*, besides our *Blessed Saviour*. I find several quote the *Talmud*, to prove, that he executed many Witches.

Simon was a Magician, and most of the first Hereticks took their Rise from him. *Elymas*, a Magician, opposed St. *Paul*.

Claudius condemned a poor Knight to
die, because he had carried about him an 41
Egg of a Serpent, in hopes it would make a Law-suit go of his Side. *Tacit.*

Nero went through all the Rights and
Preparations for Magick, with the most fa- 54
mous Magicians he could procure, but found nothing real, excepting what they did by Herbs and Drugs in the way of Nature. *Plin. Nat. Hist.* l. 30. c. 11.

Menander, *Basilides*, and many other of the first Hereticks are said to have used Magick.

Pliny tells of an Orchard carried cross
the High-way in his Time, but does not say 70

by Charms, tho' that Matter is often quoted for the Proof of Magick. *L.* 17. *c.* 25.

Tacitus, concerning Conjurers, who
100 were then called *Mathematici*, saith, *They are a faithless, fallacious Sort of Men, that were always forbidden in* Rome, *and yet would always be retained.* Lib. I. Hist.

About this Time lived *Apollonius Tyanæus*. His life was written by *Philostratus*, in a Rhetorical Style, for the Reading of the Empress *Julia*, above a Hundred Years after his Death. *Philostratus* tells so many Wonders of him, that many Christians, who believe the Story, say he was a powerful Magician, but both the Nature and Circumstances of the Facts, and the Testimony of many ancient Authors, shew plainly, that his Book hath much in it that is fabulous, and was written with Design to obscure the true Miracles of our Blessed Saviour, *Gab. Naud.* Ch. 12.

About this Time, *Apuleius* the Philo-
130 sopher was accused before *Claudius Maximus*, for drawing the Love of *Pudentilla*, a rich Widow, by Magick. His Defence is still extant, wherein he shews, that a Widow's Affection might be engaged without bad Arts. *D. Loier.*

Anton. Caracalla condemned those that
263 carried Writings about their Necks to cure Agues. *D. Loier* quotes *Spartian.*

Constantine forbad Charms to do Hurt;
321 but allowed them for preserving the Fruits of the Earth. *Lamb. Danæus.* c. 6.

2 *Julian,*

Julian, the Apoſtate, is ſaid to have uſed, but in vain, many magical and Idola- 361
trous Rites, cutting up the Bodies of Boys and Virgins, in hope to raiſe the Dead, to tell him the Succeſs of his Expedition againſt the *Perſians*.

The Inhabitants about the *Rhine* proved the Legitimacy of any Children which they ſuſpected to be Baſtards, by trying whether they would ſink or ſwim in the Waters of that River. Hence that of *Claudian*,

Et quos naſcentes explorat gurgite Rhenus.

And St. *Gregory Nazianzen*, ἐς νόθον ἐλέγχεος Ῥήνου κριθέντα ῥεέθροις. *See Colliers Dictionary.*

The Emperor *Leo* forbad all Kinds of Charms, whether to do Good or Harm; 460
but calls all their Pretences, *Fallaciam & Impoſturam*, Cheat and Impoſture. *Lambert. Dan.* c 6.

About that Time, *Merlin*, our *English* Magician, was ſaid to be begot by an 460
Incubus. *Molitor*, and other Popiſh Writers ſay, the Devil did lie with his Mother; but they ſay he ſtole a Child ſomewhere elſe, and put that into the Midwife's Hands, at the Time of Delivery.

Uter Pendragon fell in Love with *Ingren*, Wife of *Garlois*, Duke of *Corn-* 498
wall. *Merlin* is ſaid to have transformed him into the Likeneſs of the Duke, and that in that Form he begat the famous King *Arthur*. I

mention these two last, because many of the Defenders of vulgar Witchcraft quote them with great Confidence as true History: But amongst sober Historians *Geoffry* of *Monmouth* hath had the Nick-name of *Arthurus* for these and other foolish Tales that he told of King *Arthur*, and *Merlin*. See *Gab. Naud.* c. 16. *Polyd. Virg.* l. 14.

968 *Duffus* the 78th King of *Scotland*, pined away by a Sweating Sickness. A Maid was examined by Torture, and discovered, that her Mother, and some others, roasted the King's Picture by a soft Fire, and upon their Punishment, the King recovered. *Buchanan* adds; "These things, I deliver as I received them from our Ancestors. What to think of this sort of Witchcraft, I leave to the Judgment of the Reader, only minding him, that this Story is found amongst our ancient Archives and Records. *Buch.* p. 183.

999 Pope *Sylvester* the 2d, was Tutor to *Robert* the Good, King of *France*; and afterward to *Otho* the 3d, Emperor of the *West*: and by their Interest was made *Pope*, and maintained in the Chair, against the Will of the Cardinals. He being a Learned Mathematician in an ignorant Age, his Enemies imputed his Favour with those Princes, and his curious Works, to Magic; and they added a Multitude of foolish Fables concerning him; in particular this, That his Bones shake in his Sepulchre, and by their rattling portend the Death of their Popes. Cardinal *Beuno*, and other Papists were the

the Authors of these Tales. See *Gabr. Naud.* c. 19.

Balsamon, in his Comment upon the 83[d] Canon of St. *Basil*, says, he was 1200
an Eye-Witness, when the Wife of *Alexius Comnenus*, Emperor of the East, being sick, some Gypsies pretended she was bewitched, and that they could cure her. They secretly hid waxen Images in Corners, and then pretended to foretel where they should find them, and who made them. They caused many innocent Men and Women to be punished, and being able to make no Cure, ran away.

Hubert Earl of *Kent* was accused, upon pretence that he stole out of the 1232
King's Jewel-house, a Stone that would make a Man invisible, and gave it to *Lewellyn* the King's Enemy. Also that he had drawn the King's Favour to himself, above others, by Sorceries. *Speed.*

Robert Grosted, Bishop of *Lincoln*, a Person of great Learning and Virtue, 1253
falsly said to have been a Magician. *G. Naud.* c. 18.

About that Time *Roger Bacon* was accused for Conjurations. He was twice 1264
cited at *Rome*, where he received great Applause for his curious Learning. *G. Naud.* c. 17.

In that Age Sir *John Malborn* wrote a Book in the *Saxon* Tongue, detecting the Deceits of Conjurers. *Scot.* l. 15. c. 51.

1280 *Albertus Magnus*, a learned and pious Biſhop. The People ſaid he had a Brazen Head that gave him Anſwers to all Queſtions. He is one of the great Men, in Defence of whom *Naudæus* wrote his Apology. *Ch.* 18.

1305 *Arnold de Villa nova*, a learned Phyſician and Philoſopher, condemned by the Inquiſitors to be burnt at *Padua*, as a Magician, in the 80th Year of his Age. *G. Naud.* ch. 14.

1316 *Peter Apon* of *Padua*. Many learned Works of his remain, and being written before he was 24 Years old, it was ſaid, he was taught the Seven Liberal Arts by Seven Spirits which he kept in a Cryſtal. He was condemned by the Inquiſitors for a Magician, and dying before Execution, he was burnt in Effigy. See *Naud.* & *Hiſt. Dict.*

1347 The *Pyed Piper*, at *Hamelen* in *Lower Saxony*, is ſaid to have lead all their Rats and Mice into the River, where they were drowned; but being denied his Pay, he piped again, and led all the Children of the Town into a Mountain, which firſt opened, and then cloſed again, and ſhut them in. Some ſay they date their Writings from this Time. *See Dr.* More's *Antidote againſt Atheiſm*, l. 3. c. 7.

At *Bury* we may as well believe the Story of the *Wolf* and St. *Edmund*'s *Head*, becauſe to this Day that is the Creſt of the Town-Arms.

Piercy

Piercy and *Mortimer* rebelled, being encouraged by a Prophecy of *Mer-* 1403
lin's. Speed *quotes* Walſingham.

Queen *Joan*, committed upon Suſpicion of ſeeking the King's Death by Sor- 1417
cery. *Fryar Randolf*, D. D. was ſaid to be her Agent.

Joan of *Arc*, or *Joan* of *Lorain*, a Shepherdeſs, call'd by the *French*, *The* 1427
Holy Maid of God, was a great Means to raiſe the Siege of *Orleans*, and drive our *Engliſh* Forces out of *France*. The Earl of *Bedford* afterward having taken her Priſoner, burnt her for a Witch. Dr. *Heylin* doubts not to ſay, That ſhe was neither Witch nor Propheteſs, but was managed by the Earl of *Dunois*, *to revive the drooping* Spirits of the beaten *French*. *Heyl. Geogr. of Lorain.*

The Duke of *Glouceſter*, Uncle to King *Henry* VI. preferred Articles againſt 1441
his great Uncle the Cardinal. The Cardinal found nothing to return upon him in requital, but accuſed his Ducheſs for ſeeking the King's Death by Sorcery. I do not find any real Harm that the King is pretended to have ſuffered; but the Ducheſs was ſentenced to do Penance. *Margery Gurdeman*, of *Eye*, in *Suffolk*, her Agent, was burnt for a Witch in *Smithfield*. *Roger Bullingbrook* was hanged, but declared that the Ducheſs had only deſired to know of him how long the King would live. *Thomas Southwell* dyed the Night before his Execution: And *Roger Only* was hanged, but

wrote

wrote a Book of his own Innocency, and against the Opinions of the Vulgar. *See* Baker's *Chron.* p. 187, and 201.

Five Years after, the Duke himself was murdered by his Enemies. Speed *quotes* Baker.

In the Ages before these, we meet with a Multitude of Miracles, but not many Witches. About this Time, or a little before, they began to increase; insomuch that the University of *Paris*, *Anno* 1398. in the Preface to their Rules for judging Witches, say, that that Crime was, *Plus solito in illâ ætate*, more common in that Age than it had been before. *See Bodin*, p. 25.

1455 Several burnt for Witches in *Savoy*. *Hen. Instit.* p. 161.

1483 *Richard* the Third, commonly called *Crook-back*, when he had murthered the Kinsmen of the *Queen-Dowager*, and imprisoned his Nephews that were Heirs to the Crown, pretended in the Privy-Council, that the Queen, and *Jane Shore*, had made his Arm wither and consume by Sorcery, and he stripp'd his Arm that they might see it; but it was known, that his Arm had for a long Time been so. *Speed.*

1483 The same Year, King *Richard*, being of the House of *York*, attainted for Sorcery several that supported the Line of *Lancaster*. As, the Countess of *Richmond*, Mother of *Henry* the 7th; Dr. *Morton*, afterwards Archbishop of *Canterbury*; Dr. *Lewis*, *William Knevit*, and *Thomas Nandyck* of *Cambridge*, called Conjurer: *Nandyck* was taken, and

and condemned, but ſaved by the Parliament. *See the Life of* Richard *the Third by* Geo. Buck, *Eſq*; p. 102, 126.

At this Time the Belief of Witches, and their Power had got ſuch Root, that 1484
Pope *Innocent* the 8th directed a very ſuperſtitious Bull to the Inquiſitors of *Almain*, empowering them to diſcover and burn them.

The Subſtance of the Bull is this, ——*Pervenit ad auditum noſtrum*, &c. " It is come " to our Ears, that great Numbers of both Sexes " are not afraid to abuſe their own Bodies with " Devils that ſerve to both Sexes. And with " their Inchantments, Charms and Sorceries, to " vex and afflict Man and Beaſt with inward and " outward Pains and Tortures; they render " Men and Women impotent for Generation; " they deſtroy the Births of Women, and the " Increaſe of Cattle; they blaſt the Corn of the " Ground, the Grapes of the Vines, the Fruit " of the Trees, and the Graſs and Herbs of the " Fields, &c. Therefore, with the Authority " Apoſtolic, we give Power to the Inquiſitors, " &c. to convict, impriſon and puniſh." *See Bath. de Spina*, c. 3.

From the Time of this ſuperſtitious Bull, obſerve how the Number of Executions increaſe, but chiefly in the Places where the *Waldenſes* and *Proteſtants* were moſt numerous. The Jeſuit *Delrio* makes the ſame Obſervation, and gives ſeveral Reaſons, why *Proteſtants* come to be ſo very much in the Power of the Devil. *See the Preface to his Book of Magic.*

Cumanus

Cumanus burnt Forty one poor Wo-
1485 men for Witches in the Country of *Burlia* in one Year. He caused them to be shaven first, that they might be searched for Marks: He continued the Prosecutions in the Years following, and many fled out of the Country. *H. Instit.* 105, 161. *Bodin.*

About this Time *Alciat*, a famous Lawyer, in his *Parerga*, says, One Inquisitor burnt a Hundred in *Piedmont*, and proceeded daily to burn more, till the *People rose* against the Inquisitor, and chased him out of the Country. *Wier. c.* 22.

A violent Tempest of Thunder and
1488 Lightning in *Constance* destroyed the Corn for Four Leagues round. The People accused one *Anne Mindelen*, and one *Agnes*, for being the Cause of it. They confessed, and were burnt. *See Bodin. l.* 2. *c.* 8.

About this time, *H. Institor*, says, One of the Inquisitors came to a certain Town that was almost desolate by Plague and Famine. The Report went, that a certain Woman, buried not long before, was eating up her Winding Sheet, and that the Plague would not cease till she had made an End of it. This Matter being taken into Consideration, *Scultetus*, with the chief Magistrate of the City, opened the Grave, and found that she had indeed swallowed and devoured one half of her Winding Sheet. *Scultetus*, moved with Horror at the thing, drew out his Sword, and cut off her Head, and threw it into a Ditch, and immediately the Plague ceased; and the

the Inquisition sitting upon the Case, it was found, that she had long been reputed a Witch. *See H. Institor, part* 1. *Qu.* 15.

There are many Instances of their digging up Graves about that time in foreign Nations.

About this time, *George Ripley,* who wrote several Books in Mathematicks, and *William Blackney*, D. D. were counted *Necromancers. See Baker's Chron.*

John Trithemius, Abbot of *Spanheim*, a learned Person, aspersed and slandered as a Conjurer. *See Gab. Naud.* 1515

About this time, five Hundred were executed at *Geneva* in three Months. I quote this out of the Preface of the Jesuit *Delrio*, and as I have no Authority to change his Words, I let them stand: For I suppose there were a considerable Number executed, and very likely many poor *Waldenses* were added to them, for they counted them alike, and call'd them *Protestant* Witches and Wizards.

Forty eight were burnt about this time at *Ravensburg* in five Years. *See Malleus Malef. p.* 2. *Quest.* 1. *ch.* 4. 1515

Luther began about this time to discover the Ignorance and Errors of *Popery*. The *Papists* said, that he, and many other of the Reformers, had Dealings with the Devil. Some Reformers have said as much of the *Popes*, and particularly, that Fifteen one after another, that is, all from *Sylvester* II. to *Gregory* VII. were Magicians: But it must be said on their Behalf, that it was *Cardinal Benno*, 1517

and

and other Popish Authors, that misled them. That they are called Magicians, *See Prideaux Introd. to Hist. p* 111.

About this Time, the great Seditions
1520 by the *Anabaptists* in *Germany*. A Hundred Thousand took up Arms, and near Fifty Thousand were killed. *Sleid l.* 4. & 6.

About this Time, Multitudes were burnt in *France*. *Lamb. Danæus*, in the First Part of his Dialogue concerning Witches, expresses it, *Infinitum pene Veneficorum Numerum*. *Remigius p.* 126. says, One *Triscala* told *Charles* IX. that there were many Thousands in his Kingdom.

This Year the Duke of *Buckingham*
1521 was beheaded. His Death was imputed much to the Malice of Cardinal *Wolsey*; but he had been guilty of some imprudent Actions, encouraged by the Predictions of Fryar *Hopkins*. *Hopkins* died of Grief. L[d] *Herb. Hist. of Hen.* VIII.

Pope *Adrian* VI. enforced his Prede-
1523 cessor's *Bull* by a new one, with Power to excommunicate all that opposed them. *Barth. de Spina. de Strigibus, c.* 3.

About this Time, a Thousand burnt
1524 in one Year in the Diocese of *Como*; and a Hundred *per Ann.* for several Years together. *Barth. de Spina. cap.* 12.

Elizabeth Barton, the Maid of *Kent*,
1534 fell into strange Trances, and spake so much above her usual Discourses, that many thought her Fits were supernatural: But speaking

speaking against the King's Marriage, she was apprehended, and confessed her self a Counterfeit, and was hanged with seven Men that had managed her Fits to the Disturbance of the State. *See chap.* 15. *First Impostor.*

Forty *Veneficæ* are said to have re-
newed a Plague at *Cassalis*, at *Salassia* in 1536
Italy, by besmearing the Posts of the
Doors with an Ointment and Powder. *Scot. l.* 6. *c.* 4.

The Lord *Hungerford* beheaded for
procuring certain Persons to conjure, 1541
that they might know how long *Henry*
VIII. would live. Lord *Herb.*

The same Year were enacted two Acts
of Parliament, One against False *Pro-* 1541
phecies; the other against *Conjuration*,
Witchcraft, *Sorcery*, and pulling down Crosses.

In a Visitation of Archbishop *Cran-*
mer's, *Joanna Meriweather* of St. *Mil-* 1543
dred's Parish, was presented, *for that*
she made a Fire upon the Dung of Elizabeth Colley, *and dropp'd a holy Candle upon it, and told her Neighbours, it would make the Cule of the Maid divide in two Parts.* *Memoirs* of Archbishop *Cranmer*, *p.* 102.

In this first Year of *Edward* VI. the
late mention'd Statute against Witchcraft 1547
was abrogated by the Reformers.

In *Devonshire*, *Yorkshire* and *Nor-*
folk, great Numbers of the People took 1549
Arms against the Government. In *Nor-*

folk

folk they had one *Ket* for their Leader, and were encouraged by this Prophecy:

Hob, Dic, and Hic, with Clubs and clouted Shoon,
Shall fill up Duffin-Dale *with slaughtered Bodies soon.*

See *Cotta* of Witchcraft, p. 72.

In Archbishop *Cranmer's* Articles of
1549 Visitation.

" *Item*, You shall enquire, whether " you know of any that use Charms, Sorcery, " Enchantments, Witchcraft, Soothsaying, or " any like Craft, invented by the Devil. *See Sparr. Coll. of Art.* 3.

Guillaume de Line, a celebrated Prea-
1553 cher, condemned at *Poictiers* for Sorcery. *Bodin's Preface.*

The famous Imposture of the Spirit in
1554 the Wall, that spake many seditious things in *London*; but was found out to be acted by one *Eliz. Crofts*, a Girl, who from a private Hole in the Wall, with the Help of a Whistle, had uttered those Words. One *Drake* was her Confederate. *Hist. of Reformation.*

In the Second Year of Queen *Eliza-*
1559 *beth* was renewed the same Article of Enquiry for Sorcerers, that was mention'd before, with this Addition, Especially in the Time of Women's Travail. *Sparr. Coll. p.* 180.

This

This Year, *Hugh Draper* of *Bristol*, Merchant; *Leonard Bilson* of *Winchester*, Clerk; *Robert Man* of *London*, Ironmonger; *Ralf Poynte* of *Fekenham* in *Worcestershire*, Miller; *Francis Cocks* of *London*, Yeoman; *John Cocks* of *Winchester*, Clerk; *Fabian Withers* of *Clerkenwell* in *Middlesex*, Salter, and *John Bright* of *Winchester*, Goldsmith, were taken up for Conjuration and Sorcery, and being committed to the Fleet, were tried at *Westminster*, and confessed their wicked Actions, and in open Court bound themselves by this solemn Oath following, to abstain from the like Acts for the future. 1560

The Form of the Oath.

"YE shall swear, that from henceforth ye shall not use, practise, devise, or put in ure, or exercise, or cause, procure, counsel, agree, assist, or consent to be used, devis'd, practis'd, put in ure or exercis'd, any Invocations, or Conjurations of Spirits, Witchcrafts, Inchantments, or Sorceries, or any thing whatsoever touching, or in any wise concerning the same, or any of them, to the intent to get, or find any Money or Treasure, or to waste, consume, or destroy any Person in his Members, Body or Goods, or to provoke any to unlawful Love, or to know, tell or declare where Goods lost or stolen be come, or for any other Purpose, End or Interest whatsoever. So Help you God, and the holy Contents of this Book." After which they were

led through Weſtminſter Hall, and by the ſpecial Command of the Queen and her Council, were ſet in the Pillory before the Queen's Palace below the ſame Hall. *See the Lord Chief Juſtice* Coke's *Entries*, *p.* 1.

1562 This Year, being the Fifth of Queen *Elizabeth*, the Counteſs of *Lenox*, and four others were condemned for Treaſon: They had conſulted with ſome pretended cheating *Wizards*, to know how long the Queen ſhould live. *Cambd. Elizabeth.*

1562 This ſame Year a new Statute againſt Witchcraft was enacted, but more favourable than ours is now, puniſhing the firſt Conviction of Witchcraft with only Pillory. *See the Stat.*

1563 The King of *Sweden* carried four Witches with him in his Wars againſt the *Danes*. *Scot. l.* 3. *c.* 15.

1564 Four burnt at *Poictiers*. *Bodin. p.* 6.

1566 *Noſtradamus*, a *French* Phyſician, the Author of a large Book of Prophecies.

1568 *Jane Harvillier*, burnt in *France*, as her Mother had been ſome Years before. *Bodin's Dæmon. p.* 3.

1574 A blind Conjurer that was hang'd at *Paris*, accuſed above an Hundred and Fifty. He had been a Teacher of the *White Magic*, that pretends to deal only with *Good Angels*. *Bodin. l.* 2. *c.* 1.

Bodin, *l.* 2. *c.* 1. mentions a certain great Prince that he knew, who paid two Hundred Pound *per Ann.* Wages to a *Neapolitan Sorcerer*, to be his

his *Conservator*. He wore a Golden Image of *Jupiter*, prepared by the Theurgic Art, in hopes it would make him the greatest Prince in *Christendom*. When he died it was found about his Neck.

Agnes Bridges and *Rachel Pindar*, of Eleven or Twelve Years old, had 1574 counterfeited to be possess'd by the Devil, and vomited Pins and Clouts; but were detected, and stood before the Preacher at St. *Paul's* Cross, and acknowledged their hypocritical Counterfeiting. *Stow*.

Mildred Nerrington of *Westwel* in *Kent*, was thought to have been pos- 1575 sess'd, and accused one *Old Alice* for sending the Devil into her. *Roger Newman*, Vicar of *Westwell*, and *John Brainford*, Vicar of *Kenington*, tried to dispossess the Spirit by Fasting and Prayer; and were so far of Opinion, that they had done it, that they printed the Relation, with the Attestation of Six others. But *Mildred* being examined before Mr. *Thomas Wotton* and Mr. *George Darrel*, Two Justices of the Peace, she confessed, and shewed her Feats and Trances before them, *See c. 15. Second Imposter*.

Dr. *Harsenet* confirms this.

The *Windsor* Witches executed at *Abington*. The Relation was printed by *Richard Gallis*. In that he said, he came to the *God Speed*, and with his Sword and Buckler killed the Devil; or at least wounded him so sore, that he made him

ſtink of Brimſtone. *Scot. lib.* 2. *c.* 3. Again, 2d *Part, l.* 1. *ch.* 33.

Advocate. I am loth to interrupt you, and yet deſire Leave to put in one Word before we go forward. In this laſt Caſe, and ſome others that you named, you only ſingle out one ridiculous Paſſage; and, I dare ſay, paſs over many other ſtrong Circumſtances delivered upon Oath: And doth that carry an even Hand? Will that be allowed as a fair Way of quoting Authors.

Clergyman. This is all that is in this laſt Caſe that Mr. *Scot* quoted, and therefore it is all that I could cite from him: But as I my ſelf for Brevity do the ſame ſometimes; in Defence both of my ſelf and him, I would ask you, Whether you ever read the Fable of the *Politick Aſs*, that having a Mind to paſs for a Beaſt of Worſhip, covered himſelf with a Lyon's Skin?

Adv. I have read and remember it well.

Clerg. Then you remember that one poor Ear ſticking out, diſcover'd the dull Creature to be an Aſs, though that ear excepted, he ſeem'd to be a Lyon all over. Now I would not anticipate our Argument too much, becauſe I propos'd that that ſhould follow when we had all the Facts before us; but at preſent I may ſay, that I take thoſe ridiculous Circumſtances to be like the *Aſs*'s *Ear.* A true Lyon, let him be young or old, or lame or blind, yet he hath not an *Aſs*'s *Ear*; nor hath a natural true Action any thing about it that is unnatural and falſe. And as I take this to be true Reaſon, and have grounded

grounded my ſelf upon it in ſome Caſes, I will take leave in this Place to read Two Facts to you of that kind, tho' it be out of the Order of Time.

There were two hanged at *Lincoln* upon an Indictment of bewitching the 1618 Earl of *Rutland*'s Children. One old Woman confes'd, that ſhe rub'd one of the Lady *Catharine*'s Handkerchiefs upon her Cat *Rutterkin*, and bade her fly and go. Whereupon the Cat whin'd and cried *Mew*; by which ſhe underſtood that *Rutterkin* had no Power over that young Lady. Now this one Circumſtance to me looks like the Aſs's Ear. For what ſhould a Cat ſay but *Mew?* And how could the poor Woman have been ſuffered to have interpreted that to her own Deſtruction, if ſhe had not been in the Hands of Fools? And therefore tho' many odd things were ſworn by Country People; and tho' two were hang'd, and tho' there ſtands now in *Botteſworth* Church Marble Statues of thoſe Children, with an Inſcription, importing, That the Children died in their Infancy by wicked Practices and Sorcery: I do not believe a Word of it. For this the Author of *the Kingdom of Darkneſs* quotes *Diſcovery of Witchcraft* again.

William Barton and his Wife were both executed in *Scotland*. He confeſs'd 1655 that he lay with the Devil in the Shape of a Gentlewoman, and had Fifteen Pounds of him in good Money; but he denied it again before his Execution. His Wife confeſs'd, that

the Devil went before them to a Dancing in the Shape of a Dog, playing upon a pair of Pipes; and coming down the Hill back again, he carried the Candle in his Bottom under his Tail, which play'd, *Ey wig wag, wig wag*. That she said was almost all the Pleasure she ever had. She was burnt with her Husband. This Mr. *Sinclare* tells us in his Book call'd, *Satan's Invisible World, p.* 163. But whether more than one Ear doth not prick out in this Story, I leave to the Judgment of the Reader, and resume again my Chronological Table where I left it.

About this time, Seventeen or Eigh-
1576 teen were condemned at St. *Osith* in *Essex*. An Account of them was written by *Brian Darcy*, with the Names and Colours of their Spirits. *See Scott, 2d Part, lib.* 1. *ch.* 32.

At the Tryal of *Rowland Jenkes*, at
1577 *Oxford*, for Words against the Queen, a Pestilent Stink infected the Court, that within Forty Days, the Judge, and many others, in all Three Hundred died. *Cambden's Eliz.*

A Man taken at *Islington* with three
1578 waxen Images, designed for the killing Queen *Elizabeth*, and two of her Counsellors: They were buried in a Dunghil, with their Names upon them, in hopes the Parties would pine away as the Pictures wasted. *See Bodin. lib.* 2. *ch.* 8. *Ben. Johnson* mentions it in his *Masque of Queens.* And Dr. *Fulk*, in his Notes upon 2 *Thess.* 2. *S.* 15. reckons *Conjuring* amongst the *Popish* Practices against the Queen.

A Pamphlet of the Acts and hanging of Four Witches. One was Mother *Style*, 1569
that was ſuppoſed to have killed one *Saddock*, for not giving her a Cloak to make her a Safeguard. *Scot. l.* 3. *c.* 7.

Two hanged at *Cambridge*, a Mother and a Daughter. The Mother ſaid the Devil had been true to her Threeſcore Years, and ſhe would not renounce him. The Daughter died penitent. *Dr.* More's *Antidote againſt Atheiſm, l.* 3. *c.* 2.

Elizabeth Orton, of *Orton Madock*
in *Flintſhire*, of about Thirteen or Fourteen Years old, counterfeited Trances; 1589
in which ſhe pretended, that ſhe ſaw our *Bleſſed Saviour* and the *Virgin Mary*, and ſuffered the Pains of Purgatory, and ſeemed to the By-ſtanders to be in mighty Agonies. Some *Roman Catholicks* printed a Relation of her Viſions, with the Atteſtation of Twelve Witneſſes. On the 4th of *March* 1582, ſhe made publick Confeſſion of her Counterfeiting in the Cathedral Church at *Cheſter*. *See the Printed Relation.*

A young Man in *France* threw a Charm into the Boſom of his Sweetheart. 1580
Soon after ſhe was ſick to the Danger of her Life. The young Man was accuſed, and the Judge gave Sentence againſt him, that he ſhould be taken into Cuſtody. The young Man appealed to the Parliament at *Paris*. The Cauſe was heard before them, and they confirmed the Sentence. *See the Speeches of the Advocates on both ſides in* D. Loier. *p.* 139.

In Fifteen Years, from 1580 to 1595,
1580 *Remigius* burnt Nine Hundred in *Lorrain.* As many more fled out of the Country to save their Lives; and Fifteen laid violent Hands upon themselves, rather than endure the Tortures that they put them to; and whole Towns were ready to leave their Habitations for fear of Witches. *See his own Book De Dæmonolatria Sagarum.*

Mr. *Perkins* speaks of great Numbers in *Spain* about this time.

In *Germany* they tortured and burnt them daily. They poured hot Oil upon their Legs, and put Candles to their Arm-holes to extort Confessions. *See Wierus, Ady* and *Antidote against Atheism.*

Florus the Inquisitor burnt Eighteen
1582 at *Avignon.* *See the Discourse of Spirits by* Sebastian Michaelis, *Assessor with* Florus.

T. E. condemned for a Conjurer, but
1582 reprieved by Means of my Lord of *Leicester.* He confessed, that he had studied and used those wicked Arts many Years; and many Practisers of them had come to him, and he had sought to many of them, in hope to have seen something real in their Science; but he said he had never found one Sparkle of Truth, but all of it mere Cozening and Illusions. *See* Scot's *Discov. l. 15. c. 5.*

Strange News out of *Somersetshire,*
1584 termed, *A Dreadful Discourse* of the Dispossessing of one *Margaret Cowper,* at

at *Ditchet*, from a Devil in the Likeness of a headless Bear, Scot *says it was a Cheat*.

Mr. *Babington*'s Man, and Five other counterfeit *Demoniacs*, were said to be 1585
dispossess'd by *Edmunds*, alias *Weston*, a Jesuit, and other Secular Priests. *See Part of the Examinations and Confessions of the Parties themselves, in the compassionate Address to Papists, printed from a large Account of them, publish'd at that time by Authority. And also in a Sixth Letter by the same Author.*

Agnes Symson in *Scotland*, called the wise Wife of *Keith*, a Matron-like Woman, 1590
confess'd herself a Witch before King *James*. To cure Diseases, she pretended to remove them first to herself, and then transfer them to a Third Person. *See more of her in that Part of this Discourse, which is concerning the Reasons of our Statute.*

At the same Time, and of the same Company, *John Fien* confessed, that he raised Storms. *Joannes Clark* was accused for giving and taking away Power from Men's Genital Members. They were executed in *Scotland*. *See* Sadd's *Triumph, and Mr.* Sinclar's *3d Relat.*

Archbishop *Spotswood*, p. 382, says, 1591
that most of this Winter was spent in Examination of Witches and Sorcerers. *Bothwel* the Conspirator had consulted with *Agnes Symson*.

William Hacket, Yeoman, *Edmund Copinger* and *Henry Arthington* Gentle- 1591
men, three Enthusiasts, had their Heads

full

full of Miracles, and extraordinary Calls and Prophecies, and Imprecations upon themselves in way of Sign, and casting out Devils, and the Attempts of Witches against them, till they fancied themselves to be possessed with Angelical Spirits. *Copinger* and *Arthington* in *Cheapside*, proclaimed *Hacket* King of *Europe*, and the *Messias*, and for a Sign bad the People go to *Broken-Wharf*, where he was, and try if they could kill him. *Hacket* was hang'd blaspheming, *Copinger* starv'd himself with eight Days fasting, and *Arthington* sued for Mercy, *See* Hacket's *Life by Dr.* Cosins.

Dr. *Fudd* reputed a Magician.

1593 The three Witches of *Warbois* executed at *Huntington*. *See an Account of them, chap.* 7.

1594 *Ferdinand* Earl of *Derby* died suddenly. There was found in his Chamber a Waxen Image, with Hair in its Belly; but there were all the Symptoms of a strong Poyson: For his Vomit stained the Silver Andirons, and the Master of his Horse fled. *See* Baker's *Chronicle*.

1594 *Jane Bosdeau* confess'd before the Chamber of Justice at *Bordeaux*, that having been debauch'd in her Youth by an *Italian*, he carried her at Midnight on the Eve of St. *John* into a Field, where after he had made a Circle, and read out of a Black Book, there appeared a great *Black Goat* with a Candle between his Horns, and two Women and a Man habited like a Priest. She gave the Goat a Lock of

of her Hair, and made the Sign of the Croſs in her Left Hand, in Token of her being his. He had carnal Knowledge of her, which was with great Pain. After this every *Wedneſday* and *Friday* ſhe met a Rendeſvouz of above Sixty Witches at *Puy de dome.* The black Goat carried a lighted Candle in his Fundament, and all the Witches had Candles which they lighted at his, and danced in a Circle Back to Back. They had a Mock Sacrament, and the Goat piſſed in a Hole in the Ground, and they were ſprinkled with that for Holy Water. They kiſs'd his Backſide, and pray'd that he would help them. She confeſs'd all this and many other particulars freely without Torture, and continued conſtant in it in the midſt of the Flames in which ſhe was burnt. *See* Florimond de Remond *Counſellor of the Parliament of* Bourdeaux, *in his* 7th *Chap. of his Book of* Antichriſt, *p.* 112. 3d *Edition.* He added, That the Crime of Witchcraft was grown ſo common at that miſerable Time, that the Parliament Jayls would not hold the Priſoners, nor had they Judges enough to hear their Cauſes. Their Seats of Juſtice were daily ſtain'd with their Blood, and they hardly ever went Home to their Houſes otherwiſe than aſtoniſhed at the hideous and frightful things which the Witches confeſs'd. This Author laſt quoted I have not; but the Reader will not need to doubt the Truth of it, when he knows, that what I have written is only a ſhort Account of what was taken *verbatim* out of the Author by *Monſieur*

ſieur la Roche, a Name in ſo much deſerved Honour amongſt the Learned.

1594 Dr. *Dee*, a Learned, but Enthuſiaſtical Mathematician, and *Edward Kelly* a Chymiſt and pretended Conjurer, being in cloſe League with one another, undertook to diſcover all kind of Secrets, and find out the Philoſophers Stone by the Direction of Spirits, which appeared to *Edward Kelly* in a Shew-Stone, which, they ſaid, they received from Angels. When Dr. *Dee* was proſecuted here as a Conjurer, and *Edward Kelly* as a Coiner of Money, they fled into Foreign Parts with *John à Lasko*, a *Polander*, and for a time they were very famous and liv'd great; but ſoon after *Kelly* in *Germany*, endeavouring to make his Eſcape from the Emperor *Rodolf*, broke his Leg by leaping out of a Window, and died; and Dr. *Dee* returned poor and beggarly to his Houſe at *Mortlack*. *See Dr.* Dee's *Tranſactions*, &c. *put out by* M. Caſaubon.

1595 *Alice Goodridge* condemn'd at *Derby*, for ſending a Spirit into *Thomas Darling*, commonly called the Boy of *Burton*. The Judge continued her in Priſon, where ſhe died. *See Dr.* Harſnet's *Diſcovery, and Mr.* Darrel's *Defence.*

1597 *Edmund Hartly* hang'd at *Lancaſter*, upon an Indictment for bewitching ſeven Perſons of the Family of one Mr. *Starky*. Mr. *Starky*, being a weak ſuperſtitious Man, firſt ſought to *Hartly* to cure them, and kept him in his Houſe ſeveral Years, allowing him

him Forty Shillings a Year; but afterwards he prosecuted and hang'd him. In that Tryal there was *Spectral Evidence* made use of against him, and the Experiment of saying the Lord's Prayer; but that which touch'd his Life was Mr. *Starky's* Deposition, that he had made a Circle for Conjuration, which was Felony by the Statute then in Force. *See the Discourse concerning the Dispossession of the Seven Persons in Mr.* Starky's *Family, written by* George More.

Mr. *John Darrel*, who was thought
to have cast Devils out of Eleven Per- 1598
sons, and had caused several Persons to
be imprison'd for Witches, was condemn'd for a Counterfeit by the full Agreement of the High Commission. See a larger Account of his Case in the Book that was written upon that Subject by Dr. *Harsnet*, afterwards Archbishop of *York*; and also in the 15th Chapter of this Book. *Impost. the Third.*

Martha Brossier a Counterfeit *Dæmo-*
niac at *Paris*, gave great Trouble to 1599
Henry the 4th by pretended Fits, and
Foaming, and Interruptions of her Pulse, and Insensibility when pricked with Needles. Her Managers gave out, that she had hang'd in the Air four Foot higher than the Heads of six Men, who had try'd in vain to keep her down. *See her Detection by* Thuan, *in the* 123d *Book of his History.*

This Year, being the First of King
James, both Parliament and Convoca- 1603
tion met, and sate.

The

The Parliament repealed the Queen's Statute against Witchcraft, and enacted a more severe one, which is now in Force. *See some Conjectures at the Reason of it, in the Eleventh Chapter of this Discourse.*

The Convocation that same Year, having seen the great Mischief and Scandal from forward Men pretending to understand *Dæmoniacs*, and venturing to attempt their Dispossession, made this excellent Canon: *That no Minister or Ministers, without License and Direction of the Bishop, under his Hand and Seal obtained, attempt, upon any Pretence whatsoever, either of Possession or Obsession, by Fasting and Prayer, to cast out any Devil or Devils, under Pain of the Imputation of Imposture, or Cozenage, and Deposition from the Ministry. Vide* Canon 72.

1603 A License granted by the Bishop and Chancellor of *Chester*, and two Commissioners for Causes Ecclesiastical, to seven Persons to have private Fasting and Prayer, if they thought fit, for *Thomas Harrison*, commonly called, the Boy of *Northwich*, who was thought by many to be a *Dæmoniac*, but not esteem'd so by the Bishop and Commissioners, who had seen his Fits. *See Chap.* 15. *4th Detection.*

1611 *Lewis Gaufredy*, a Priest, was accused for Debauching two young Girls: They said he used Magick to seduce them, and that he had made them Witches. He confessed,

confessed, then retracted, then was tortured again, and after that burnt at *Aix*.

About the same time, a blind Woman was accused and burnt. See the History of a Magician by *Sebastian Michaelis*. It was translated into *English*, on purpose to let our People understand the foul Practices of the *Romish* Church, in those Matters.

Fifteen indicted, and Twelve condemn'd at *Lancaster*. *See* Cowper, *p.* 15. 1612
And Dalton's *Country Justice*, *ch.* 118.

Grace Sowerbuts, by the Instigation
of one *Thompson*, a Popish Priest, accu- 1612
sed *Jannet Bierly* her Grandmother, *Ellen Bierly* her Aunt, and *Jane Southworth*. They were tried in *Lancaster* before Sir *Edward Bromly*, ond the young Woman confessed that all were Lies and Counterfeit.

Mary Smith hang'd at *Lynn*. She
died very pious and believ'd her self a 1615
Witch. The Narrative was written by *Alexander Roberts*; but he was one who had such an easy Faith in these Matters, that he believ'd King *Ericus* could make the Wind stand in what Point he pleased, by setting his Hat that way.

The *Boy* of *Bilson*, a famous Counter-
feit, detected. *See the Account at large* 1620
in the 15*th Chapter of this Book.* Imposture the Sixth.

The Author of *Cautio Criminalis*, printed 1619, saith, that about that time, the *German* Princes finding no Cure, but Increase by Exe-

cutions of Witches, began to stay their Hands, and fear'd they had been wrong.

Edward Fairfax of *Fuyston* in the Forest of *Knarsborough*, Esq; at *York* Assizes, prosecuted Six of his Neighbours for suppos'd Witchcraft upon his Children. The *common* Facts of *Imps*, and *Fits*, and *Apparition* of the suppos'd Witches were depos'd, and the Grand Jury found the Bills, and the Judge heard what the Witnesses had to say; but having a Certificate of the sober Behaviour of the accused Persons, he directed the Jury so well, that they clear'd them. I quote this from a large Manuscript which Mr. *Fairfax*, Father of the afflicted Children, drew up as a Vindication of his own Proceeding. The Perusal of that Manuscript I must acknowledge to the Civility of the Reverend Mr. *Wasse*, Fellow of *Queen's* College in *Cambridge*. 1622

Philibert Learneau, Curate of *Brase*,
1624 condemned to be burnt by the Parliament of *Dijon*, for conjuring to find Treasure, that he fancied had been hid from the Time that the *English* had possess'd *France*. *Monsieur Perieaud*, *p*. 189.

John Fox, said to be dispossess'd of
1627 an Evil Spirit by Mr. *Rothnell*, but continued dumb three Years after. *See* Clark's *Life of Mr*. Rothnell.

Mr. *Clark* in his First Volume of Ex-
1630 amples, *p*. 510, reports, that an Evil Spirit appear'd to one Mr. *Earl*, in the Shape of Mr. *Lyddal*; and at another time, in the

the Shape of Mr. *Rogers*, the famous Preacher in his time, at *Dedham* in *Essex*.

Centeni a Cardinal's Nephew, with a
Fryar his Associate, executed for trying 1633
to kill Pope *Urban* the 8th by a waxen Image stuck with Pins and Needles. *See Pope* Urban's *Life in* Collier's *Dictionary*.

The Nuns of *Loudun* were thought to
be possess'd by Evil Spirits. They seem- 1634
ed to suffer violent Tortures, and speak strange Languages, and reveal Secrets, and to have the Names of the Saints that help'd them, miraculously written upon their Hands. When they were under the Power of the Exorcisms, they said the Spirits were sent into them by the Witchcraft of *Urbain Grandier*. He was a very learned and eminent Clergyman; but was a Favourer of the Reformation, and was hated by them upon other Accounts; and amongst those, one was his writing a Satyr against Cardinal *Richlieu*. He was apprehended, stripp'd naked, search'd for insensible Marks, and put to cruel Pains, while they try'd with an artificial Knife, which Parts of him were sensible and which not. He was adjur'd to clear himself by shedding Tears, if he was innocent. After that he was tortur'd till he swooned upon the Rack; and maintaining his Innocence, he was at last inhumanly burnt, without being suffered either to unbosom his Mind to his Confessor, or speak to the People. *See the Ways of their Wickedness fully proved in* Histoire de Diables de Loudun.

About that Time, Seventeen *Pendle-*
1634 *Forest* Witches were condemned in *Lan-*
cashire, by the Contrivance of a Boy
and his Father. See their Vindication in the
latter Part of this Book, *Ch.* 15. *Imposture* 5.

Dr. *Lamb* was killed by the Mob, be-
1640 ing thought a Conjurer. *See Mr.* Baxter's
Certainty of the World of Spirits, *p.* 155.

1642 Mother *Jackson* condemned in *London.*

Sixteen executed at *Yarmouth*, disco-
1644 vered by *Hopkins* the famous Witch-
finder of that Time. *See Collection of*
Modern Relations, p. 48.

Fifteen condemn'd at *Chelmsford* in
1645 *Essex*, and hang'd, some at *Chelmsford*
and some at *Maningtree*. Another died
in Goal. Another died as going to Execution.
They were condemned at a Sessions by the Earl
of *Warwick*, and some Justices of the Peace.
See the Printed Relation printed by Autho-
rity.

One hang'd at *Cambridge*. She kept
1645 a tame Frog, and it was sworn to be her
Imp. *See Mr.* Ady, *p.* 135.

Many hang'd at *Bury St. Edmunds* in
1645 *Suffolk*; I have been told near Forty at
1646 the several Times of Executions, and as
many more in the County as made up
Threescore. See the Notes upon *Hudibras*, 2[d]
Part, 3[d] Canto. Mr. *Ady*, in his Book of Witch-
craft speaks of more.

Many

Many hanged at *Huntington*, two whereof were *Elizabeth Weed* and *John Winnick.* See *Kingdom of Darkness.* 1646

One tried at *Worcester.* Collection of Modern Relations. 1649

One at *Gloucester* convicted for having suck'd a Sow in the Form of a little black Creature. *Collection of Modern Relations*, 51. 1649

Great Numbers burnt in *Scotland* in those unsettled Times. Mr. *Ady* saith many Thousands.

1652 *Catherine Huxly* hanged at *Worcester.*

About this Year the *Royal Society*, for improving the Knowledge of Nature and Art, had its Beginning at *Oxford*, in the Chambers of the Learned Bishop *Wilkins. See the History of the* Royal Society, *by Dr.* Sprat, *Bishop of* Rochester. And in 1658 it was remov'd to *Gresham College.* 1652

Anne Bodenham, Dr. *Lamb*'s Maid, executed at *Salisbury*, declaring her Innocence. *See Dr.* Moor's *Antidote against Atheism.* 1653

About this Time *Jane Lakeland* was either hanged or burnt at *Ipswich.*

Two *Borams*, (Mother and Daughter) hanged about this Time at *Bury St. Edmunds.* 1655

Jane Brooks hanged at *Chard*, for bewitching *Richard Jones* of *Shepton-Mallet* in *Somersetshire. Sadd. Triumph.* 1658

About this Time Widow *Oliver* was hanged at *Norwich*.

Some hanged in *Cornwall* about this Time. *See Dr.* Burthog'*s Essay on the Nature of Spirits*.

1659 About this Time two hanged at *Lancaster*, but died protesting their Innocency. *Webst.* p. 80.

A Trumpeter, aud his Wife and Daughter, were beheaded in *Holland* confessing Witchcraft. The Daughter might have been saved, and would not; for she said, the Devil was committing Uncleanness with her at that Time. Learn from this, that these Uncleannesses with the Devil are false and involuntary Imaginations in their own Brains; for if it had been a real Action of hers, the Company must have seen some Sign of it. They believed her Confession rather than their own Eyes. *See the Collection of Modern Relations*, p. 59.

1660 This Year King *Charles* the 2d incorporated the *Royal Society*, and was its Head and Patron, and the principal Nobility were Members of it. And in 1664 they began to publish their Philosophical Transactions, which spread useful Knowledge through the Nation.

1661 *Bessie Fowler* burnt at *Musselburgh* in *Scotland*.

1661 *Florence Newton* of *Youghall* tried. *See Sadduc. Tri. Relat.* 7.

1661 *Antonietta Bourignon* founded and governed a Cloister, with 50 poor Girls, at

at *Lisle* in *Flanders*. Being, as I conceive, very enthusiastical, with her Head full of Spirits, one Day as she came into the School, she thought she saw a great Number of little black Children with Wings, flying about her Scholars Heads. She told them of it, and bid them beware. In a little time almost all the Children confessed themselves Witches, and said they had been so before they came thither, their Parents being Witches, and having given them to the Devil as soon as they were born. They said, they were carried to Witches Meetings two or three times a Week, where they met vast Multitudes of other Witches; for most People, they said, were such, there being few like Madam *Bourignon*. They said the Devil lay with them, gave them all kinds of Pleasures, and played with them: But if Madam *Bourignon* did but lift up the Latch of the Door to come in, or speak, or cough, they would fly away like Lightning. One Day they would confess, and the next Day denied all; and being taken from her, and examined before the Magistrates, all save one, went off from their Confessions That one had a great Love to her Mistress, and desired to die. She was shut up in Prison, and the Author of this Narrative saith, it was never known what became of her. *See Collect. of Modern Relat.* p. 21.

One *Greensmith* and her Husband executed in *New-England*. She confess'd; 1662
he denied. See the Essay upon Providence, by *Increase Mather*.

Two were put to the Water *Ordeal*, and ſwam, and made fly the Country of *New-England*. *See the ſame Eſſay*.

Julian Cox hanged at *Taunton* in *So-*
1663 *merſetſhire*. She died declaring her Innocence. *Sadduciſm. Triumph.*

Alice Huſon and *Doll Dilby* tried at
1664 *York*. *Alice Huſon* ſaid, ſhe received Money, Ten Shillings at a time, from the Devil. *See Collection of Modern Relations.*

Amy Duny and *Roſe Cullender*, try'd
1664 before the Lord Chief Baron *Hale*, at *Bury St: Edmunds* in *Suffolk*, and were hanged, maintaining their Innocence. See the Account of this Caſe in the 8th Chapter of this Diſcourſe.

About this Time, *Mary Johnſon* was tried at *Hartfordſhire* in *New-England*, and hang'd. She ſaid the Devil appeared to her, lay with her, and clear'd her Hearth of Aſhes, and hunted Hogs out of the Corn. *She could not forbear laughing*, ſhe ſaid, *to ſee how he feazed them about*. *See* Cotton Mather'*s remarkable Providences*, p. 62.

Twelve accuſed in *Somerſetſhire*, be-
1664 fore Mr. *Hunt* Juſtice of the Peace. Several of them confeſs'd; but his Searches and Diſcoveries were oppoſed and check'd by a higher Authority, by which means the poor People were ſaved, and the Conſequence was, that the Country had quiet. *See Sadduciſmus Triumph.* p. 102.

The

The Academy of Sciences was begun in *France*. 1666

Major *Wier* and his Sister executed in *Scotland. See Mr.* Sinclare's *Postscript.* 1670

At *Mohra* in *Swedeland*, Seventy were condemn'd, and most of them executed. 1670 Also Fifteen Children were executed, and 36 ran the Gantlet, and 20 were whipp'd on the Hands. See this answered in Chap. 6.

The following Entry I had the Honour to receive from the Right Honourable the Lord High Chancellor *Parker*, out of *Dictionnaire des Arrêts*, &c. *par Brillon*. And as there are but few that can be suppos'd to have so scarce a Book, I have put down the Quotation both in *French* and *English*. See the Article of Sorcery in that Book.

En 1672, *le Parlement de Roüen ayant fait arrêter un tres grand nombre de Bergers & autres gens accusçe d'etre Sorciers, à qui on faisoit le proces avec beaucoup de diligence & de severité, le Roy averti de ceta, donna un Arrèt dans son Conseil d'Etat par lequel il fut enjoint au Parlement de Roüen de relacher tous ces pauvres gens. Cet Arrét eut le pouvoit de faire taire le Demon. Depuis ce temps là, l'on n'a plus entenda parler de Sorciers en Normandie.* (i. e.) The Parliament of *Roüen* having taken up a very great Number of Shepherds and other People accus'd of Witchcraft, against whom the Prosecution had been carried on with great Eagerness and Severity; the King being

inform'd of it, gave out an *Arrêt* from his Council of State, which requir'd that Parliament of *Roüen* to release all those poor People. This *Arrêt* had that Power in it that it made the Devil silent. From that time we have heard no more of Witches in *Normandy*.

Six executed in *Scotland* upon an In-
1678 dictment for bewitching Sir *George Maxwell*. Four confessed, and two denied. One who was the first that confessed, was pardoned, and used for a Witness against the others. They were discovered by the help of one *Jannet Douglas*, a Dumb Girl, who made Signs that there was a Picture of Wax in one of their Houses, and went with them, and pulled it out of a Hole in the Chimney. The accused Persons said, the dumb Girl herself had put it there; and it seems very probable, for she was whipp'd afterward through *Edinburgh*, and after that was whipp'd again, and banish'd for several Crimes. *See Sadducism. Triumph.* and Mr. *Sinclare*, p. 18, 206.

About that Time, one condemn'd at
1679 *Ely*, but reprieved by King *Charles* II. and afterward the Fellow that pretended to have been bewitched, was hanged at *Chelmsford* in *Essex*, and confess'd that he had counterfeited his Fits and Vomitings, as I have been informed.

Susan Edwards, *Mary Trembles* and
1682 *Temperance Lloyd*, hanged at *Exeter*, confess'd themselves Witches, but died with good Prayers in their Mouths. I suppose these

these are the last three that have been hanged in *England*.

There was an *Act of Faith*, as it is call'd, this Year at *Lisbon* in *Portugal*, 1682
and in the List of the Prisoners their Crimes and Punishments were these that follow.

Manael Joan, a Barber and Labourer of the City of St. *Luis*, to be whipp'd and three Years in the Gallies for the Faults of Witchcraft, and for Presumption of his having made a Covenant with the Devil.

Joseph Francisco, a Shepherd, for Witchcraft and for having made a Covenant with the Devil, perpetual Prison, and five Years in the Gallies, and to be whipp'd.

Anna Roiz for having feigned Visions, and for Presumption of her having made a Covenant with the Devil, three Years to *Craslo Marim*.

Catharina Baretta of *Villa Franca*, for the Faults of Witchcraft, to be whipp'd, and four Years in *Brazil*.

Ursula Maria and *Maria Pinheira* for the same Fault, Five Years in *Brazil*.

See the History of the Inquisition.

In Imitation of our *Royal Society* and the *French Academy of Sciences*, the 1682
famous Society at *Leipsic* in *Saxony* was begun this Year for the Improvement of the same Knowledge of *Art* and *Nature*.

Richard Dugdale of *Surrey* in *Lancashire*, was said to be dispossessed by 1689
some Dissenting Ministers, who kept Days of Fasting and Prayer for near a Year. See

this

this Caſe anſwered in the 9th Chapter of this Book.

One *Glover*, an *Iriſh* Papiſt, hanged
1689 at *Boſton* in *New-England* for ſuppoſed Witchcraft. See *Cotton Mather*'s Remarkable Providences.

Elizabeth Carrier, *Margery Coombs*
1691 and *Anne Moor*, committed for ſuppoſed Witchcraft upon *Mary Hill* of *Beckinton*, by *Frome*, in *Somerſetſhire*. One of them died in Goal; the other two were tried before the Right Honourable the Lord Chief Juſtice *Holt*, and were acquitted. And the Maid that was thought to have been bewitch'd, in a little time did well, and was fit for Service. See Mr. *Baxter*'s *Certainty of the World of Spirits*, p. 74.

Several tried by ſwimming, in *Suffolk*, *Eſſex*, *Cambridgeſhire* and *Northamptonſhire*, and ſome drown'd in the Tryal.

Nineteen hanged at *Salem* in *New-*
1692 *England*. One preſs'd to Death. Eight more condemn'd. Fifty confeſs'd themſelves Witches, and were pardon'd. One Hundred and Fifty were in Priſon, above 200 accuſed, and many fled the Country to ſave their Lives. *See Calef.* p. 41.

Widow *Chambers* of *Upaſton* in *Suf-*
1693 *folk*, a diligent induſtrious poor Woman, committed to *Beccles* Goal upon an Accuſation of Witchcraft, and died in Priſon before her Tryal. After ſhe had been walk'd betwixt two, ſhe confeſſed a great many things of her

ſelf,

self, and in particular she said, she had kill'd her Husband, and the Lady *Blois*; though the near Relations of that good Lady were satisfied that she died a fair Death, without any Hurt from that poor Woman; and some for Experiment sake ask'd her, if she had not kill'd such and such; and she confess'd she had, though the Persons were then living.

Mother *Munnings* of *Hartis* in *Suffolk*, was tried before the Lord Chief Ju- 1694
stice *Holt*, at *Bury St. Edmunds*. Many things were deposed concerning her spoiling of Wort, and hurting Cattel, and that several Persons upon their Death-Beds had complained that she killed them.

It was sworn, that *Thomas Pannel*, her Landlord, not knowing how to get her out of his House, took away the Door, and left her without one. Sometime after, he happening to pass by, she said to him, *Go thy way, thy Nose shall lie upward in the Church-Yard before* Saturday *next*. On *Monday* following her Landlord sickened, and died on *Tuesday*, and was buried within the Week, according to her Word. To confirm this, it was added by another Witness, that a Doctor whom they had consulted about an afflicted Person, when this Mother *Munnings* was mentioned, said, she was a dangerous Woman, she could touch the Line of Life. In her Indictment, she was charged to have an Imp like a Pole-Cat; and one Witness swore, that coming from the Alehouse about Nine at Night, he looked in at her Window, and saw

her

her take out of her Basket two Imps, a black and a white. It was alſo depoſed, that one *Sarah Wager*, after a Quarrel with this Woman was taken dumb and lame, and was in that Condition at Home at the Time of her Tryal. Many other things were ſworn, but the Jury were ſo well directed, that they brought her in *Not Guilty*; and upon particular Inquiry of ſeveral in or near the Town, I find moſt are ſatisfied that it was a very right Judgment. She lived about two Years after, without doing any known Harm to any Body, and died declaring her Innocence. Her Landlord was a conſumptive ſpent Man, and the Words not exactly as they ſwore them, and the whole Thing 17 Years before. For by a Certificate from the Regiſter, I find he was buried *June* 20, 1677. The white Imp is believed to have been a Lock of Wool, taken out of her Basket to ſpin; and its Shadow it is ſuppoſed was the black one.

Margaret Elnore was tried at *Ipſwich*
1694 before the Lord Chief Juſtice *Holt*. She was committed upon the Account of one Mrs. *Rudge*, who was three Years in a languiſhing Condition, as was thought, by the Witchcraft of the Priſoner then at the Bar, becauſe Mr. *Rudge*, Husband of the afflicted Perſon had refuſed letting her a Houſe. Some Witneſſes ſaid, that Mrs. *Rudge* was better upon the Confinement of the Woman, and worſe again when her Chains were off. Other Witneſſes gave Account, that her Grandmother, and her Aunt had formerly been hanged for Witches, and that her Grand-

Grandmother had ſaid, ſhe had eight or nine Imps, and that ſhe had given two or three Imps a-piece to her Children. Others gave an Account of a Tet in her ſecret Parts.

A Midwife who had ſearch'd her Grandmother who had been hanged, ſaid, this Woman had plainer Marks than ſhe. Others made Oath of their being covered with Lice after Quarrels with her. But notwithſtanding theſe Depoſitions, the Jury brought her in *Not Guilty*; and though I have made particular Inquiry, I do not hear of any ill Conſequence, but all probable Appearance of the poor Woman's Innocence. For after the Tryal, when ſhe was at Liberty, Mrs. *Rudge* continued in a reaſonable good Health, and ſeveral Years after *Margaret*'s Death, ſhe fell again into the ſame Kind of Pains (ſuppoſed from the Salt Humour) and died of the ſame Diſtemper.

Mary Guy, tried before the Lord Chief
Juſtice *Holt* at *Launceſton* in *Cornwall*, 1695
for ſuppoſed Witchcraft upon *Philadelphia Row*. It was depoſed, that the Appearance of the ſaid *Mary Guy* was often ſeen by that Girl, and that ſhe vomited Pins, Straws and Feathers. But notwithſtanding ſuch Depoſitions, the Priſoner was acquitted.

Elizabeth Horner was tried before
the Lord Chief Juſtice *Holt* at *Exeter*. 1696
Three Children of *William Bovet* were thought to have been bewitched by her, whereof one was dead. It was depoſed, that another had her Legs twiſted, and yet from her Hands and

Knees

Knees ſhe would ſpring five Foot high. The Children vomited Pins, and were bitten (if the Depoſitions were true) and pricked, and pinched, the Marks appearing. The Children ſaid, *Beſs Horner*'s Head would come off from her Body, and go into their Bellies. The Mother of the Children depoſed, that one of them walked up a ſmooth plaiſtered Wall, till her Feet were nine Foot high, her Head ſtanding off from it. This, ſhe ſaid, ſhe did five or ſix times, and laughed and ſaid, *Beſs Horner* held her up. This poor Woman had ſomething like a Nipple on her Shoulder, which the Children ſaid was ſucked by a Toad. Many other odd things were depoſed, but the Jury brought her in *Not Guilty*, and no Inconvenience hath followed from her Acquittal.

The Account of theſe four laſt Tryals, I muſt acknowledge to the great Favour of my Lord Chief Juſtice *Holt*, who gave leave to Sir *James Montague* to lend me the Notes which he took of the Depoſitions that were made at the Time of thoſe Tryals.

About eight and twenty were accuſed by Mrs. *Chriſtian Shaw*, a Girl of about 1697 Eleven Years old. One Man died in Priſon, maintaining his Innocency; another was found hanged in Goal. Two Boys and a Girl, and two more, five in all, ſaved themſelves by confeſſing; and upon their Teſtimony, ſeven were executed, denying their Guilt. The Girl outlived all, and was well, for all the ſuppoſed Sorcery and Witchcraft of Eight and Twenty.

This

This was in the County of *Renfrew*, the West of *Scotland*. The Narrative of their Case, with the Speeches of the Advocates, was written and printed in *London*, with the Title of *Sadducismus Debellatus*, and had a Second Edition long since, and is now most of it reprinted in *The Compleat History of Witchcraft*. In the following Book, I have mention'd some of the false Rules and Signs that seem to have missed them.

About this time two old Women were
burnt for Witchcraft in the Jurisdiction of 1698
of *Holstein Ploen*. This I am informed
by an Eye-Witness.

Sarah Fowles of *Hammersmith*, was
tried at the Sessions in the *Old Baily* in 1698
London, and set in the Pillory, for pretending to be possess'd, when she was not, and making ill use of it.

Several others in other Places, about Eleven in all, have been tried for Witches before my Lord Chief Justice *Holt*, and have all been acquitted.

The last of them was *Sarah Morduck*,
accused by *Richard Hathaway*, and 1701
tried at *Guilford* Assize, *Anno* 1701,
where the said *Sarah Morduck* was cleared, and *Hathaway* was indicted for an Impostor, and afterward was set in the Pillory. *See a larger Account of it in the Fifteenth Chapter of this Book.* Impostor *the Seventh.*

Francisco Lopez de Sylva, a Shoe- 1707
maker, to be whipp'd, and to be Ten

Years

Years in the Gallies, for having used a Purse to render himself invulnerable, and on Presumption for having made a Compact with the Devil, and Sodomy, and for having tamper'd with Witnesses in the Affair of the Inquisition.

Four burnt for Hereticks. *See the History of the Inquisition in* Portugal.

CHAP. III.

OBSERVATIONS *upon the Matters of* FACT.

Clerg. THIS Collection, Mr. *Advocate*, is as full as I have been able to make out of those Authors that I have met with: And as I said before, that my Notions of Philosophy and Christianity were much against the vulgar Doctrines of Witchcraft, this View of these Facts confirms me in the bad Opinion I have of most of them.

Advo. As is the Man, such is the Judgment he makes in any Case. My Conclusion is, That since there have been so very many Condemnations by lawful Judges and Magistrates, though they do seem to have been mistaken in many, yet there must be many also in which the Facts were real. For I pray consider, you have quoted Time and Place, and cited Authors for the Executions of many Thousands, besides general Te-

ſtimonies of great Numbers more. You have reckon'd up about 146 that have ſuffered in *England* ſince the Reformation, by *Proteſtant* Judges and Juries. In *New-England*, One and Twenty ſo very lately as the Year 1692. and ſince thoſe Seven in *Scotland* in the Year 1697. Now the Concluſion I muſt make is, That they muſt be right in many Caſes; though I doubt they were often miſtaken.

Clerg. If they were miſtaken but in one half of thoſe Tryals, it makes a very ſad Caſe: And better that they had all been committed to the Righteous Judge, who doth not neglect the other Cauſes that are too hard for Man's Judgment. But if I gueſs right, the Miſtakes have been many more. I will give you my Reaſons for my Opinion; and then take it, or leave it, as you think fit.

1. I obſerve, That where the Times have not been ſo violent and ſuperſtitious, but that Ingenious Men might venture to ſpeak freely, and the Government hath put the Parties into their Hands, that they might make full Tryal; they have uſually diſcover'd Cheat and Impoſture. Here are a Matter of Fifteen famous Detections of Frauds, many of them after Judges and Juries, and a Multitude of Eye-Witneſſes had been deceiv'd. Theſe give me a ſtrong Suſpicion that if the reſt had undergone as ſtrict an Enquiry, moſt of them would have been diſcover'd as well as theſe.

2. I am the more of this Mind, becauſe I obſerve, that though the Relations are written

by thoſe that believ'd the Facts, and told the Stories with as much Advantage as they could well; yet, as I have in part obſerved already, ſo I now add, that there are few of them without ſome very great Abſurdity or Folly, that looks like an Aſs's Ear out of a Lion's Skin. If any one ſhall think it worth his while, I believe he may collect out of the Books of Witchcraft, as many incredible Tales, very near, as there are in the *Golden Legend*. Now when Papiſts had ſwell'd their lying Miracles into ſuch a Multitude, our *Reformers* ventur'd to reject both the Stories, and the Doctrines that they proved by them, without troubling themſelves to account for every particular Relation. And as we have reap'd a very laſting and happy Benefit from their ſound Judgment, I do not ſee but we may, in part, apply their Example to the Caſe before us.

I obſerve, 3. An unpardonable Partiality and perfect Humour in judging what are Acts of Sorcery, and what are not. Though the Statute againſt Witchcraft forbids all Acts of Sorcery whatever, and all Charms for employing Spirits; yet for diſcovering a ſuppos'd Witch, they allow any that call themſelves Accuſers, to uſe barbarous and unnatural Charms, which muſt have their Force, if they have any at all, from the ſame Diabolical Power, becauſe they are no natural Cauſes of ſuch Effects. They allow them, for Inſtance, to draw Blood by ſcratching: To ſet the Bottle and Urine upon the Fire, well cork'd and tied down; and to burn Cakes made of the Party's Water. All theſe are ſeek-

ing

ing to, and conſulting with the Devil, and employing of him, and uſing the *Vinculum Pacti*, and are within the Reach of the Statute againſt Witchcraft; and yet all theſe they confeſs of themſelves, and practiſe unpuniſh'd, and think it no harm. But this is the utmoſt Partiality, or rather mere Wantonneſs in Judging: For whether ſuch Compacts are real, or only imaginary, they ought to be puniſhed equally on both ſides, without Reſpect of Perſons. See more of this in the 8th Chapter, or Examination of the Tryal before the Lord Chief Baron *Hales*.

4. I obſerve farther, That the Numbers of Witches, and the ſuppos'd Dealings of Spirits with them, increaſe or decreaſe, according to the Laws, and Notions, and Principles of the ſeveral Times, Places, and Princes.

In the Times of the *Roman* Empire, ſome of the *Cæſars* condemn'd Witches, others would not.

In *Lorrain*, where *Remigius*, by his Principles, could find Eighteen Hundred in Fifteen Years, I do not underſtand, that there are more now than in other Places.

In *Savoy*, *Spain* and *Germany*, ſince Philoſophy and Learning have prevail'd, they have but few, though great Multitudes before.

Formerly *France* was as much vex'd with Accuſations of ſuppos'd Witches; but ſince they have diſcourag'd Proſecutions, they have been in much more Eaſe and Freedom from them.

In this Collection that I have made, it is obſervable, that in 103 Years, from the Statute

againſt Witchcraft in the 33d of *Henry* VIII. till 1644, when we were in the midſt of our Civil Wars, I find but about Fifteen executed. But in the ſixteen Years following, while the Government was in other Hands, there were an Hundred and nine, if not more, condemn'd and hang'd. In the five Years following, before the late Notions were well conſidered, I find five Witches condemn'd, and three of them, if not all five, executed; and three after at *Exeter*, 1682. Since then, that is, in thirty ſix Years laſt paſt, I have not yet met with one Witch hang'd in *England*. In *Scotland*, indeed, and *New-England*, ſeveral have ſuffered; but in *England* not one, that I know of.

Then by this View that I have laid before you, it appears, that in a little more than one Century, from the Year 1484, when Pope *Innocent* put forth his ſuperſtitious *Bull*, there were more Executions of ſuppos'd Witches, than had been, I believe, from the beginning of the World till then. What the particular Principles of that Age were, are well known, and I will conſider more particularly by and by. At preſent I only ſay, that it is from theſe Obſervations that I ground my Rule, that *Witchcraft follows Principles*. The Number of Witches increaſes or decreaſes, according as theſe Principles prevail or are exploded: And therefore, it ſeems to me, that if not altogether, yet for the greateſt Part, they are made by the Imaginations of Men.

I make no great doubt, but that we have as many Devils now amongſt us, as they had in other

other Ages; for we have as many Temptations, and Lies, and Thefts, and Adulteries, and Murders, that are the Devil's Works: But our Witches, for the present, are gone after the *Poet's Gods*, and *Modern Fairies*. But I must add, that they are not so far from us, but that, if we should have a Prince, and Judges, and Juries, and Witch-finders, of the same Principles, that found out so many before; in two Years time, in all Probability, they would find out as many now.

Adv. Do not run from your Point. Your Observation was, that Witchcraft follow'd *Principles*. I allow you, that the *Discovery* of Witches doth follow Principles; for if Men believe none, it is not likely they should find any: But then, it may be, it is their Unbelief and wrong Principles that are the Reason why they are neither found out, nor look'd for. If therefore you will bring this Point to a certain Issue, give me one Catalogue of such Principles and Notions as *have* prevailed where *many* Witches were found, or supposed to be found; and another of such as *have* prevailed where Men have found out *Few*; that we may judge whether kind of Principles are more sound and rational. For if the Principles upon which Men went when such great Numbers were convicted, be true and right, the Question will still stick by you; for they could not be mistaken in Matter of Fact, in so very many Cases.

Clerg. You put me upon a very difficult Task, when you desire me to reduce these two sorts of

Principles into Order for a View. For both the Subject itſelf is difficult, and the Opinions of thoſe that defend the vulgar Notions, are ſo confus'd and contradictory, that it is impoſſible to bring them into any certain Rules.

As ſome Ages have had the Appearance of many Witches, and others of few; ſo in ſome Ages, Witches and their Works, and Confeſſions, are quite different from others. A *Hebrew* Witch, a *Pagan* Witch, a *Lapland* Witch, an *Indian* Witch, a *Proteſtant* Witch, and a *Popiſh* Witch, are different from one another; ſome in Honour, and ſome in Diſgrace.

Then for the Degrees of the Perſons Guilt in thoſe Caſes, where there are the greateſt Proofs of ſupernatural Actions, I meet with that which makes the Caſe very entangled; for there is, as the Books upon this Subject tell us, the *Curſing* Witch, and the *Bleſſing*; the Witch by *Art*, and the Witch by *Compact*. And laſtly, the *Active* Witch, and the *Paſſive*. By the *Witch* that is only *Paſſive*, I ſuppoſe muſt be meant, one that does not *deſire* this Familiarity with Spirits; but the Spirits *obſeſs*, *haunt* and dog them, and take Occaſion, without bidding, to fulfil their paſſionate Words, and do odd Tricks in Places where theſe Perſons have been, and ſhew them Peoples Fortunes whether they will or no; as ſome of the *Second-ſighted* Men in *Scotland* are ſaid to count it an Affliction to them; but yet they cannot avoid it. Now if Spirits without any Compact will do ſuch Things as theſe, then many ſtrange Facts may be really true; and

yet

yet the Perſon accus'd may only have been an obſeſs'd, tempted Perſon, or a *Dæmoniac*, or perhaps a very Religious Perſon, purſued out of Spite by the Devil, becauſe ſhe is better than her Neighbours. I do not ſay it is ſo; but who knows his Devices? And this I will ſay, That thoſe preternatural Signs of Witchcraft, very often fall againſt ſuch, as in all Appearance, are very virtuous Perſons, though uſually poor; and thoſe afflicted Perſons that have been the Accuſers, have often had great Appearance of being *Dæmoniacs*. We have been apt to wonder why the Devil had forſaken our Age, that we had no *Poſſeſſions* amongſt us, when in ancient Times they had ſo many: But if they that have been thought to have been *bewitch'd*, have really been *Dæmoniacs*, and the Devil by their Mouths hath carried on his great Work of falſe accuſing, and murdering innocent People; then we muſt own, he hath done by Craft, what he could not do by direct Temptation, and hath made thoſe very Men his Tools to carry on his Plots, who verily believ'd they had been deſtroying his Works. As I am only ſhewing the great Difficulty of theſe Caſes, I do not aſſert this; but I will ſay, there are ſome Appearances that look that way; and I wiſh thoſe that think themſelves moſt aſſured in thoſe Queſtions, may very well conſider it.

That we might judge when the Confeſſions of Witches proceed from a ſound Mind, and when from *Imagination* and *Vapours*, it would be neceſſary we ſhould have ſome fix'd Bounds

of the Power of Spirits, that we might know when they had paſs'd the Degrees of Poſſibility. But here the wiſeſt of Men have not been able to lay down any certain Rule. Some ſay, the Devil cannot really controul the Laws of *Nature*: Others ſay, Nature is a mere Jeſt with him. Some think, they may ſafely ſay, he cannot really transform a Man or a Woman into a Cat; and that therefore when old Women confeſs ſuch Things, they are to be thought mad; but Dr. *More* believed he could transform them, and tells the way how he doth it. *Antidote againſt Atheiſm, 3d. Book, 11th. Chapter.*

Concerning the Nature, and Will, and Deſigns of Spirits, though we are very ſure of their *Being*; yet we are by no means able to lay down ſafe Rules, by which we may judge of their Actions and Intentions. Some think, and have written, that there are harmleſs Spirits, that are in a kind of middle State betwixt Angels and Devils: And if ſo, one would think, it ſhould be no capital Offence to have Communion with them. *H. Inſtitor* tells us of the *Generoſity (Nobilitas)* of ſome Devils; and what Rule can we lay down to diſtinguiſh theſe generous Devils from good Angels? Dr. *More* tells us of other Spirits, *that are very great Fools*; *that there are as great Fools in the other World as there are in this.* And if this be true, they may act incoherently, and contrary to their own Intereſts: and we can never know what Judgment to make of their Actions. Others tell us of *ludicrous*, *frolickſome* Devils; and if there

there be ſuch, How do we know but ſome of them may do odd Things, on purpoſe to make Sport even with Courts of Juſtice, if they happen to be too credulous, and lay too much Weight upon the Evidence of their Facts.

All that we can hope to preſerve us from going wrong in theſe dark Ways, is the good Providence of God Almighty. But who dare venture to determine what God will ſuffer, and what he will not? *His way is in the Sea, and his paths in the deep waters. His judgments are unſearchable, and his ways paſt finding out.* Who knows whether he may not permit ſuch things, on purpoſe to prove Judges and Juries, how wiſe and valiant they will be in defending the Lives of the Poor and Innocent? And when either they, or Kings are ignorant, wicked, or ſuperſtitious, How many Thouſand innocent Lives doth he ſuffer to fall by their Hands in all Ages? Since God hath warned us ſufficiently of Satan's Devices, Who can ſay to what Degree God may permit him to uſe his natural Craft and Subtilty, on purpoſe to try how watchful we will be againſt him? And ſince all the old Heathen Idolatries and Popiſh Superſtitions were eſtabliſhed by their giving heed to ſeducing Spirits; and ſince it is under Prophecy, that the World, in the latter Times, will be deceived by evil Spirits again; What Madneſs is it to let theſe Spirits, and their Works, have any Credit with us in Tryals where the Lives and Reputations of our Chriſtian Brethren are under Queſtion?

Theſe

These things being every way ſo dark and doubtful; as Atheiſtical Men deny all, wiſe Men have thought it neceſſary to be wonderfully cautious in Penal Laws; and tho' at other times they will diſcourſe theſe Points with Freedom, and incline to that which is moſt probable; yet where their Neighbour's Blood or Reputation is at Stake, they think they are bound to keep to ſome few, ſafe, negative Rules; and as far as I can judge, they have been ſuch as theſe:

1. Do not intrude into Things that you have not ſeen, *Col.* 2. 18.

2. Even good Spirits are no legal Evidence in our Courts. What Credit then can we give to the Devils Words or Actions; or to the Words or Actions of thoſe that are acted by him?

3. We muſt not make our Neighbour ſuffer for ſuch Harms as the Devil does. As the Serpent will bite without bidding, ſo the Devil will do Miſchief without our Leave; and perhaps father his Actions upon thoſe that have no Concern in them.

4. We can no more convict a Witch upon the Tricks of Swimming, Scratching, Touching, or any other ſuch Experiments, than we may convict a *Thief* upon the Tryal of the Sieve and Shears.

As ſuch childiſh Tricks are thrown with Scorn out of all other Tryals, they ought not to be regarded in theſe of Witchcraft.

5. Witches Confeſſions have ſo often been extorted, ſo often the Effect of Diſtraction, pro-

ceeding from long Watching and Tortures, or Diſtempers, and have ſo often been found contrary to plain Truth, that they are not to be believed againſt the Probability of Things, and the natural Circumſtances of Actions.

6. Things odd and unaccountable are to be reſpited till we underſtand them.

7. Where there is no known Rule to decide by, make no Judgment.

8. It becomes us to ſhew our Faith in God, by leaving doubtful Caſes to his Providence, which is powerfully preſent and active in the World.

Theſe, or ſuch like, I take to be the ſober Principles of thoſe Times and Places that have been troubled with few Witches.

Theſe that follow are a Catalogue of the Principles of thoſe Times, and Men, that have been troubled with and have hang'd great Numbers.

1. That the Devil cannot make a Perſon in Fits think he ſhould ſee the Shape or Apparition of another, unleſs that Perſon hath made a Compact. *See King* James'*s Dæmon.*

2. That therefore the Spectral Evidence, (*i.e.*) the afflicted Parties thinking they ſee the Perſons that torment them, may be given in Evidence. *See the Practice of moſt Tryals, and* Dalton'*s Country Juſtice.*

3. That it is lawful to try the ſuppoſed Witch, by obſerving how the afflicted Party is affected at

at the Touch of her. *See the Tryal before Judg* Hale, and *Sadd. Debell.* p. 48.

4. That it is lawful to use the *Lord's Praye* for a Test to discover them. *Sadd. Debell.* p. 54.

5. That swimming is a fair Tryal of a Witch *King* James's *Dæm. and Scrivonius.*

6. That want of Tears is another Mark. *Sadd Debell.* p. 54.

7. That insensible Parts and Teats are Signs of *Witchcraft.* Dalton's *Country Justice.*

8. That the Devil's Mark may be like a Flea-bite. *Dalton's Country Justice.*

9. That the Devil can do more when he hath a Witch's Commission, than he can do without it. *Mr.* Baxter's *Certainty of the World of Spirits.*

10. That *Personæ inhabiles* in other Cases, even infamous Persons, are lawful Evidence in the Case of Witchcraft. *Sadd. Debell.* p. 53.

11. That Tortures may be made use of to extort Confessions. *See the Practice of* Lorrain, Scotland, *and most Nations.*

12. That the Witches may be kept long from Sleep, and then be examined. It hath been said by the Witch-finders, in their own Justification, that because our *English* Law does not allow Tortures, the People have made use of this keeping them awake, and swimming, and walking of them betwixt two till they have not been able to stand for Weariness, which is both a great Torture, and exceedingly disorders the Understanding.

" I meet

"I meet with little mention of *Imps* in any 'Country but ours, where the Law makes the 'feeding, suckling, or rewarding of them to be 'Felony; but amongst our Witch-finders it hath 'been a Rule.

13. That the suspected Witches may be watched till their *Imps* appear; and their *Imps* may come in the Shapes of *Cats*, *Dogs*, *Rats*, *Mice*, *Spiders*, *Fleas*, *Nits*, *Birds*, *Flies*, *a Toad*, *a Frog*, *a Hen*, *a Crow*, *a Hornet*, *or a Mole*.

"This is a pernicious way of Tryal, because "it would be strange if no Creature should happen near them. Besides, if we know any "thing of Spirits, this is contradictory to the "true Notion of them; for if they are, or can "make themselves *invisible*, What signifies "watching?

14. When the Accused are upon their Tryal for bewitching any particular Person, it is lawful to give in Evidence Matters that are no ways relating to that Fact, and done many Years before; and which consequently they cannot be prepared to answer to. *See most Tryals.*

15. That ill Fame of their Ancestors is a reasonable Ground of Suspicion.

16. That Imps may be kept in Pots, or other Vessels; and that the Pots and Places where they are kept, stink detestably; and that therefore such stinking Places in their Houses are Signs that they have Imps. *Dalton's Country Justice*, c. 118.

17. That received Rules, that have been practised by Courts of Justice, are not to be examined by Reason. *Sadd. Debell.*

18. That

18 That tho' these Arguments single, are not concluding, yet several of them together are sufficient, as Five little Candles give as much Light as one great one. *Sadd. Debell.* p. 51. Which, by the way, is a fallacious Comparison; for Forty bad Arguments prove no more than one, that is, nothing at all; but it can never be said so of lighted Candles in a Room.

This is the Second View of Principles, and tho' I will consider them more particularly afterward, I think I may say at present, that they are unscriptural, superstitious, and false. And since it is true in Fact, that Nations and Ages have many Witches, or few Witches, according as they have allowed of more or fewer of these Principles; the great Number of Executions weighs very little with me. Though these Tragedies have been sad and many, I think it is God's Mercy there has been no more; for tho' Judges may have been otherwise great Men, and taken Care, that is nothing. False Principles will make false Conclusions. In Arithmetick, he that works by a false Rule will have a false Sum, and if he works by it a Hundred Times, and with never so great Care, it will give a Hundred wrong Instances as well as one.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Suffolk *Witches.*

Adv. THERE is no doubt to be made but that the Case of Witchcraft is a very tender and difficult Point; but pray consider, This Argument of yours is Notion against Fact, and besides it is too general, & *Dolus versat in generalibus*. Let us examine some of the more famous Cases more particularly. Perhaps they have not proceeded by these Rules. And I will begin with those that were executed at *Bury St. Edmunds* in *Suffolk*, and the neighbouring Counties. You have reckoned up above Fourscore, and Mr. *Ady* saith, they were near a Hundred. You impute their Condemnation to the Principles of those Times: But Mr. *Baxter* gives us another Account of them; I will repeat it in his own Words. They are in his *Certainty of the World of Spirits*, p. 52.

" The hanging of a great Number of Witches
" in *Suffolk* and *Essex*, by the Discovery of
" one *Hopkins* in 1645 and 1646, is famously
" known. Mr. *Calamy* went along with the
" Judges in the Circuit, to hear their Confessions,
" and see that there were no Fraud or Wrong
" done them. I spake with many understand-
" ing, pious and credible Persons, that lived in
" the

" the Countries, and ſome that went to them
" to the Priſons, and heard their ſad Confeſ-
" ſions. Amongſt the reſt, an old *Reading*
" Parſon named *Lowis*, not far from *Framling-*
" *ham*, was one that was hanged; who con-
" feſſed, that he had two Imps, that one of
" them was always putting him on doing Miſ-
" chief, and (he being near the Sea) as he ſaw a
" Ship under Sail, it moved him to ſend him to
" ſink the Ship, and he conſented, and ſaw the
" Ship ſink before him. One penitent Woman
" confeſſed, that her Mother lying ſick, and
" ſhe looking to her, ſomewhat like a Mole ran
" into the Bed to her, which ſhe being ſtartled
" at, her Mother bad her not fear it, but gave
" it her, ſaying, Keep this in a Pot by the
" Fire, &c. and thou ſhalt never want. She
" did as ſhe was bid; ſhortly after a poor Boy
" (ſeemingly) came in, and ask'd leave to ſit
" and warm him at the Fire, and when he was
" gone, ſhe found Money under the Stool; and
" afterwards oft did ſo again, and at laſt laid
" hold of her, and drew Blood of her, and ſhe
" made no other Compact with the Devil, but
" that her Imps ſucked her Blood; and as I
" heard ſhe was delivered. Abundance of ſad
" Confeſſions were made by them; by which
" ſome teſtified, that there are certain Puniſh-
" ments which they were to undergo, if they
" did not ſome hurt as was appointed them.——
Theſe are Mr. *Baxter*'s Words, what have you to ſay againſt them?

Clerg.

Clerg. I ſay, that by Mr. *Baxter*'s Method of writing Hiſtories, I ſee one of the ways how lying Legends come to get Belief in the World. In the Beginning there is ſomething true for a Foundation. Forty or Fifty Years after, when the Parties concerned are dead, Men of too eaſy a Belief venture to publiſh hearſay Stories. None trouble themſelves to confute them; or if they do, many Times the Confutation is ſeen but by a few, and may ſoon be loſt, when the Hiſtory may continue: As very likely Mr. *Baxter*'s Book upon ſuch an acceptable Subject, may have a Tenth Impreſſion, when this obſcure Dialogue will be forgotten. Thus fabulous Hiſtories get Credit, and poiſon the Generations after them.

You muſt know then, that in the Year 1644, 1645, and 1646, *Matthew Hopkins*, of *Manningtree* in *Eſſex*, and one *John Stern*, and a Woman along with them, went round from Town to Town, through many Parts of *Eſſex*, *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, and *Huntingtonſhire*, to diſcover Witches. Several Clergymen preached, and ſpake againſt them, as far as thoſe Times would ſuffer, and particularly Mr. *Gaul*, of *Stoughton* in *Huntingtonſhire*, oppoſed very heartily that Trade that theſe People drove. In the beginning of his Book he hath printed a Letter, that *Hopkins* wrote to one in his Town. I will put down the Letter juſt as Mr. *Gaul* printed it; becauſe it ſhews us the Man, and the gainful Trade they made of it, and how any that oppoſed them were diſcouraged by the Committees.

M. N.

" MY Service to your Worſhip preſented, " I have this Day received a Letter, " &c. to come to a Town called *Great Stoughton*, to ſearch for evil diſpoſed Perſons, called " Witches (though I heare your Miniſter is farre " againſt us through Ignorance :) I intend to come " (God willing) the ſooner to heare his ſingu- " lar Judgement in the behalfe of ſuch Parties; " I have known a Miniſter in *Suffolk* preach as " much againſt their Diſcovery in a Pulpit, and " forced to recant it, (by the Committee) in the " ſame Place. I much marvaile ſuch evil Mem- " bers ſhould have any, (much more any of " the Clergy) who ſhould dayly preach Terrour " to convince ſuch Offenders, ſtand up to take " their Parts, againſt ſuch as are Complainants " for the King, and Sufferers themſelves, with " their Families and Eſtates. I intend to give " your Town a viſite ſuddenly. I am to come " to *Kimbolton* this Week, and it ſhall be tenne " to one, but I will come to your Town firſt, " but I would certainly know afore, whether " your Town affords many Sticklers for ſuch " Cattell, or willing to give and afford us good " Welcome and Entertainment, as otherwhere " I have beene, elſe I ſhall wave your Shire " (not as yet beginning in any Part of it my " ſelf) and betake me to ſuch Places, where I " doe, and may perſiſt without Controle, but " with Thanks and Recompenſe. So I humbly " take my leave, and reſt

Your Servant to be Commanded

Matthew Hopkins.

In the 77th Page of his Book, after the mention of twelve very ridiculous Signs of Witchcraft, too much made uſe of at that Time, Mr. *Gaul* proceeds: " To all theſe, I cannot but add one " at large, which I have lately learnt, partly " from ſome Communication I had with one of " the Witchfinders (as they call them) partly " from the Confeſſion (which I heard) of a ſuſ- " pected, and a committed Witch, ſo handled, " as ſhe ſaid, and partly as the Country People " talk of it. Having taken the ſuſpected Witch, " ſhe is placed in the middle of a Room, upon " a Stool or Table, croſs-legg'd, or in ſome " other uneaſy Poſture, to which if ſhe ſubmits " not, ſhe is then bound with Cords; there is ſhe " watch'd and kept without Meat, or Sleep, " for the Space of Four and Twenty Hours: " (for they ſay, within that Time, they ſhall " ſee her Imp come and ſuck.) A little Hole " is likewiſe made in the Door for the Imps to " come in at; and leſt it ſhould come in ſome ' leſs diſcernable Shape, they that watch, are " taught to be ever and anon ſweeping the " Room, and if they ſee any Spiders, or Flies, " to kill them. And if they cannot kill them, " then they may be ſure they are her Imps.

It was very requiſite that theſe Witchfinders ſhould take care to go to no Towns, but where they might do what they would, without being controuled by Sticklers; but if the Times had not been as they were, they would have found few Towns where they might be ſuffered to uſe the Trial of the Stool, that was as bad as moſt

Tortures. Do but imagine a poor old Creature, under all the Weakneſs and Infirmites of old Age, ſet like a Fool in the middle of a Room, with a Rabble of Ten Towns round about her Houſe: Then her Legs tied croſs, that all the Weight of her Body might reſt upon her Seat. By that means, after ſome Hours, that the Circulation of the Blood would be much ſtopped, her ſitting would be as painful as the wooden Horſe. Then ſhe muſt continue in her Pain Four and Twenty Hours, without either Sleep or Meat; and ſince this was their ungodly way of Trial, what wonder was it, if when they were weary of their Lives, they confeſſed any Tales that would pleaſe them, and many Times they knew not what?

And the Truth of this doth not only reſt upon Mr. *Gaul*'s Teſtimony, but the Tradition of the Country confirms it. I can add one Caſe that happened near *Hoxne* in *Suffolk*, which I had from a Gentlewoman of very great Piety and Virtue, and which I have heard confirmed by many others. She ſaid, when the Witchfinders came into that Neighbourhood, they had one Woman under Tryal, who, ſhe verily believed was innocent; but being kept long faſting, and without Sleep, ſhe confeſs'd and called her Imp *Nan*. This good Gentlewoman told me, that her Husband, (a very learned ingenious Gentleman) having Indignation at the Thing, he and ſhe went to the Houſe, and put the People out of Doors, and gave the poor Woman ſome Meat, and let her go to Bed, and when ſhe had ſlept,

and

and was come to her ſelf, ſhe knew not what ſhe had confeſs'd, and had nothing ſhe called *Nan*, but a Pullet that ſhe ſometimes called by that Name.

If they could not extort a Confeſſion by the Stool, they had other Trials. They walked them betwixt two, and when they were faint and weary, the two People held them from falling, and forced them to continue walking, if they would not confeſs. Then they ſearched every ſecret Part of their Body for Teats and Marks. And if all theſe failed, then they were to be tried by Swimming, with their Thumbs and Toes tied croſs one another. I have met with ſeveral that remember the Swimming of great Numbers: And there is one Pool, where they uſed to try them, not far from *Halſtein*, which is called *Witches-Pool* to this Day.

Theſe Things gave ſuch juſt Offence, that the Report of their ill Arts was carried to the Parliament. But it was to that Piece of a Parliament that remained in the Year 1645, when the King's Forces were beaten, and thoſe that would have oppoſed ſuch Proceedings, were driven out of the Houſe: And therefore inſtead of Remedy, the Effect was, that they joined two of the leading Miniſters of their Party in a Commiſſion with the Judge of the Aſſize (Serjeant *Godbold*) and the Juſtices that were then in Authority. Mr. *Fairclough* of *Ketton*, was one of ths two Miniſters, (See his Life by Mr. *Clark*;) and before he ſat upon the Bench he preached two Sermons to the Court in one of the Churches in

Bury. What Notions he laid before them to proceed upon, we cannot now ſay; but the Effect was, that they went on to execute them in great Numbers: And therefore we may believe he recommended theſe Proſecutions as a Piece of Piety and Reformation, that ſhewed the Zeal of their Time, above our lukewarm Temper. But the Clergy of our Church oppoſed them as far as they had Power. And what the witty Men thought of it, we may ſee by the ingenious Author of *Hudibras,* who writ ſoon after that Time.

Hath not this preſent Parliament
A Ledger to the Devil ſent,
Fully empower'd to treat about
Finding revolted Witches out?
And has not he, within a Year,
Hang'd Threeſcore of them in one Shire?
Some only for not being drown'd:
And ſome for ſitting above Ground
Whole Nights and Days upon their Breeches,
And feeling Pain, were hang'd for Witches:
And ſome for putting Knaviſh Tricks
Upon green Geeſe and Turkey Chicks,
Or Pigs that ſuddenly deceas'd
Of Griefs unnatural, as he gueſs'd,
Who after prov'd himſelf a Witch,
And made a Rod for his own Breech.

Hudib. 2[d] Part, Canto III.

Theſe two laſt Verſes, I ſuppoſe, relate to that which I have often heard; That *Hopkins* went on ſearching, and ſwimming the poor Creatures,

tures, till ſome Gentlemen, out of Indignation at the Barbarity, took him, and tied his own Thumbs and Toes, as he uſed to tye others, and when he was put into the Water, he himſelf ſwam as they did. That clear'd the Country of him; and it was a great deal of Pity that they did not think of the Experiment ſooner.

Adv. You are angry becauſe they hanged up *Lowes*, the *Reading* Parſon.

Clerg. In ſuch a kind of a careleſs Contempt, I find, Mr. *Baxter* mentions Mr. *Lowes*, an ancient Clergyman, near Fourſcore Years old, whom they hanged up among the reſt. But I cannot but wonder, what ſhould make Mr. *Baxter*'s Informer remember that Circumſtance of his Life, that he was a *Reading* Parſon, and why Mr. *Baxter* ſhould print that Word in a different Character, that the Reader might take notice to ſpeak it with an Emphaſis: But he knew who he wrote for, and that that would make them believe any Thing that was ill of him, upon a very ſlender Proof.

Adv. There was no need of Proof, for Mr. *Baxter* ſays, he confeſs'd, "That he had two "Imps, and that one of them was always put-"ting him on doing Miſchief; and (being near "the Sea) as he ſaw a Ship under ſail, it mov-"ed him to ſend him to ſink the Ship, and he "conſented, and ſaw the Ship ſink before him.

Clerg. I am bound in Charity to think, that Mr. *Baxter* believed this Story, or otherwiſe that he would not have printed it: But I aſk you, whether you believe it your ſelf?

Adv. What is the Reaſon why you do not?

Clerg. Becauſe it is a monſtrous Tale, without any tolerable Proof to ſupport it. For conſider this Matter well. Here is a Ship, we are told, under ſail: There muſt be many Souls in it about their lawful Occaſions, and many Families at Land depending upon it for their Livelihood. As this Ship paſt by the Coaſt of *Suffolk*, there happened in Sight, a Man that had nothing elſe to do but obſerve this Ship. He could have no particular Malice, nor any Temptation of Gain; for he knew not whoſe the Ship was, nor was likely to get any Thing by the Loſs of it; only an Imp that he had with him had a Mind to deſtroy it; and without any Notice or Acknowledgment of God, asks leave of this Man, as if Ships ſailed by his Permiſſion. To pleaſe his Imp, he gives his Conſent for the Wreck, and the Imp ſunk it before his Face. When wiſe Men believe wonderful Things, they take care that the Proof be as extraordinary to ſupport it: But in this Caſe, we have no corroborating Circumſtances of Time, or Place, or the Name of the Ship, or any Witneſſes, in a Caſe that requires vaſt Numbers, that could depoſe, that at ſuch a Time, that very Ship by Name, or at leaſt a Ship particularly deſcribed, did ſink miraculouſly, when it had a calm Sea and a fair Wind, without either Rock or Tempeſt. Inſtead of theſe kind of Probabilities, we have an Intimation of another Nature: He was a *malignant* Parſon, that read Homilies, and ſome wandring ſcandalous People, that took up

a

a Trade to get their Bread amongſt the Rabble, by finding out Witches, ſwore, that when he was under their Tryals, he confeſſed ſuch a Thing againſt himſelf.

Adv. Did he not confeſs it then before the Commiſſioners, at the Time of his Tryal ?

Clerg. No, but maintained his Innocence ſtoutly, and challenged them to make Proof of ſuch Things as they laid to his Charge. I had this from a Perſon of Credit, who was then in Court, and heard his Tryal. I may add, that tho' his Caſe is remembered better than any others that ſuffered, yet I never heard any one ſpeak of him, but with great Compaſſion, becauſe of his Age and Character, and their Belief of his Innocence. And when he came to his Execution, becauſe he would have Chriſtian Burial, he read the Office himſelf, and that way committed his own Body to the Ground, in ſure and certain Hope of the Reſurrection to eternal Life.

In the Notes upon thoſe Verſes that I quoted out of *Hudibras*, it is ſaid, that he had been a painful Preacher for many Years, I may add for Fifty, for ſo long he had been Vicar of *Brandeſton* in the County of *Suffolk*, as appears by the Time of his Inſtitution. That I might know the preſent Senſe of the chief Inhabitants of that Place, I wrote to Mr. *Wilſon*, the Incumbent of that Town, and by his Means received the following Letter from Mr. *Rivett*, a worthy Gentleman, who lived lately in the ſame Place, and whoſe Father lived there before him.

SIR,

S I R,

" IN Answer to your Request concerning " Mr. *Lowes*, my Father was always of " the Opinion, that Mr. *Lowes* suffered wrong- " fully, and hath often said, that he did believe " he was no more a Wizzard than he was. I " I have heard it from them that watched with " him, that they kept him awake several Nights " together, and run him backwards and forwards " about the Room, until he was out of Breath: " Then they rested him a little, and then ran " him again: And thus they did for several " Days and Nights together, till he was weary " of his Life, and was scarce sensible of what he " said or did. They swam him at *Framlingham*, " but that was no true Rule to try him by; for " they put in honest People at the same Time, " and they swam as well as he.

This walking and running them backward and forward till out of Breath, is so barbarous and senseless, that I should have been apt to think that both Mr. *Gaul* and Mr. *Rivet* had taken their Reports from those that had strain'd Things, if I had not now before me, by the Favour of my Lord Chief Baron *Bury*, a Book put out by *Hopkins* himself in the Year 1647. In that he calls himself *Witchfinder General*, and owns, that he had Twenty Shillings a Town for going to them; that they had swam many; that they had watch'd them for four Nights together; and doth not deny but they had kept them standing or

or walking till their Feet were bliſter'd; and adds the Reaſon, which I will give you in his own Words, *Page* 5. '*The Reaſon*, ſaith he, *was, to prevent their couching down*; *for, indeed, when they be ſuffered ſo to* Couch, *immediately come their Familiars into the Room, and ſcareth the Watchers, and heartneth on the Witch*, &c.' And yet theſe are the Witchcrafts that Mr. *Baxter* hath confirmed with the Credit of his Name, and tranſmitted as true to Poſterity. What Wonder is it if our common People are mad, and ſwim and abuſe the poor Creatures, when ſuch an admired Author makes himſelf the Defender of thoſe that uſed ſuch Practices? And therefore I hope there are none but will think it a very neceſſary thing to fence againſt the Miſchiefs that may be again, if ſuch bloody Superſtition and Madneſs ſhould ever again get head.

Adv. What have you to ſay to the old Woman's Caſe? Did ſhe confeſs what Mr. *Baxter* was informed?

Clerg. Something like it ſhe did, as I have heard from others: But what ſignified Confeſſions after ſuch Uſage? Old Women are apt to take ſuch Fancies of themſelves; and when all the Country was full of ſuch Stories, and ſhe heard the Witchfinders tell how familiar the Devil had been with others, and what Imps they had, ſhe might begin to think, that a *Beggar-Boy* had been a Spirit, and *Mice* upon her Mother's Bed had been her Imps; and, as I have heard, that ſhe was very harmleſs and innocent, and deſirous

to die, ſhe told the Story to any Body that deſir'd it; and beſides, as ſhe was poor, and mightily pitied, ſhe had uſually Money given her when ſhe told the Story.

And for a farther Proof, that the extorted Confeſſions were mere Dreams or Inventions to free themſelves from Torture, I will add ſome of the Particulars that they confeſs'd.

Elizabeth Clark, an old Beggar, with only one Leg, they ſaid had an Imp called *Vinegar-Tom*; another called *Sack and Sugar*; and another that ſhe ſaid, ſhe would fight up to the Knees in Blood before ſhe would loſe it. She ſaid the Devil came to her two or three Times a Week, and lay with her like a Man; and he was ſo very like a Man, that ſhe was forc'd to riſe and let him in when he knock'd at the Door, and ſhe felt him warm. *Ellen Clark* fed her Imp. *Goodw. Hagtree* kept her Imp with Oatmeal a Year and half, and then loſt it. * Mr. *Gaul* tells of one that kill'd her Imp for doing Miſchief. *Suſan Cocks*'s Imp worry'd Sheep, and *Joyce Boans*'s Imps killed Lambs. *Anne Weſt*'s Imps ſuck'd of one another; and I have been told by one that was preſent in Court, that one poor Fellow confeſs'd, that he had ſent Imps to Prince *Rupert*. Now you believe that theſe might be real Imps, and I do not envy your Judgment. My Opinion is, that when the Witchfinders had kept the poor People without Meat or Sleep, till they

* See the *Kingdom of Darkneſs*, and *Antidote againſt Atheiſm*.

knew

knew not well what they ſaid; then, to eaſe themſelves of their Tortures, they told them Tales of their *Dogs*, and *Cats*, and *Kittens*.

Jurym. Mr. Advocate, I believe you had beſt leave theſe *Suffolk* Witches; for tho' Mr. *Baxter*, who truſted to Second hand Stories, had too great an Opinion of their Truth; they are but of ill Fame in theſe Parts; and I have heard that it was Time for *Hopkins* to leave the Country when he did, for the People grew very angry at his Diſcoveries.

Clerg. For Mr. *Advocate*'s farther Satisfaction, I will add two or three Paſſages more from another Hand. They were publiſh'd not long ſince from *New-England*, by Mr. *Hales* an Independent Miniſter. They are in Mr. *Cotton Mather*'s Hiſtory of *New-England*, and I will add them, becauſe they belong to this *Suffolk* Caſe; and ſhew us which way they ſolved Things, when they perceived how much they had been abuſed. *See the Sixth Book of that Hiſtory.*

" *Says he*, about the Year 1645, there was at
" *Chelmsford* an afflicted Perſon, that in her Fits
" cried out againſt a Woman, a Neighbour, which
" Mr. *Clark*, the Miniſter of the Goſpel there,
" could not believe to be guilty of ſuch a Crime.
" And it happened, while that Woman milked
" her Cow, the Cow ſtruck her with one Horn
" upon the Fore-head, and fetched Blood; and
" while ſhe was thus bleeding, a Spectre in her
" Likeneſs appeared to a Perſon afflicted, who
" pointing at the Spectre, one ſtruck at the Place;
" and

" and the Afflicted ſaid, You have made her " Forehead bleed. Hereupon, ſome went to the " Woman, and found her Forehead bloody, and " acquainted Mr. *Clark* with it; who forthwith " went to the Woman, and asked how her Fore- " head became bloody? And ſhe anſwered, by " a Blow of the Cow's Horn, whereby he was ſa- " tisfy'd, that it was a Deſign of Satan to render " an innocent Perſon ſuſpected.

" *He adds*— Another Inſtance was at *Cam-* " *bridge*, about Forty Years ſince. There was " a Man believed that a Widow Woman ſent " *Cats* or *Imps* to bewitch him; and one Night, " as he lay in Bed, he thought one Cat came in- " to his Reach, and he ſtruck her on the Back; " and upon Enquiry, he heard this ſuſpected Wo- " man had a ſore Back. But Mr. *Day*, the Wi- " dow's Surgeon, cleared the Matter, ſaying, " This Widow came to him, and complained of " a Sore in her Back, and deſired his Help; and " he found it to be a Boil, and ripen'd and heal'd " it as he uſed to do other Boils; but while this " was in Cure, the ſuppos'd *Cat* was wounded, " as is already rehearſed.

The Reader may give as little Credit as he thinks fit to theſe two laſt Relations; for I pawn not my own Faith for their Reality: But I thought it not amiſs to add them, that thoſe who by having their Heads full of the Devil and Spirits, ſhall ever bring themſelves under the Miſery of ſuch Deluſions, may have this more rational and leſs bloody Way of ſolving their Difficulties.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

The Witchcrafts at Salem, Boſton, *and* Andover *in* New-England.

Adv. IF you think fit, we will conſider next the late Witchcrafts ſuppos'd to have been in *New-England*; they are freſh, and there are Witneſſes enow living. Mr. *Cotton Mather*, no longer ſince than 1690, publiſhed the Caſe of one *Goodwin*'s Children; for the bewitching of whom, as was ſuppos'd, one *Glover*, an *Iriſh* Papiſt, was hang'd the Year before. The Book was ſent hither to be printed amongſt us, and Mr. *Baxter* recommended it to our People by a Preface, wherein he ſays, *That Man muſt be a very obdurate* Sadducee *that will not believe it*. The Year after, Mr. *Baxter*, perhaps encouraged by Mr. *Mather*'s Book, publiſh'd his own *Certainty of the World of Spirits*, with another Teſtimony, *That Mr.* Mather'*s Book would ſilence any Incredulity that pretended to be Rational.* And Mr. *Mather* diſperſed Mr. *Baxter*'s Book in *New-England*, with the Character of it, as a Book that was *Ungainſayable*. I ſee both of them have not ſatisfy'd you; Pray what have you to ſay againſt Mr. *Mather*'s?

Clerg. Upon the extraordinary Commendation that Mr. *Baxter* gave of it, I ſent for it, with great Hope to have ſeen this Caſe of Witchcraft put beyond Queſtion; but the Judgment I made of it was, that the poor old Woman being an *Iriſh* Papiſt, and not ready in the Signification of *Engliſh* Words, had entangled her ſelf by a ſuperſtitious Belief, and doubtful Anſwers about *Saints* and *Charms*; and ſeeing what Advantages Mr. *Mather* made of it, I was afraid I ſaw part of the Reaſons that carried the Cauſe againſt her. And, Firſt, It is manifeſt, that Mr. *Mather* is magnify'd, as having great Power over the evil Spirits. A young Man in his Family is repreſented ſo holy, that the Place of his Devotions was a certain Cure of the young Virgin's Fits. Then his Grandfather's and Father's Books have gained a Teſtimony, that, upon occaſion, may be improved, one knows not how far. For amongſt the many Experiments that were made, Mr. *Mather* would bring to this young Maid the *Bible*, *the Aſſemblies Catechiſm*; his Grandfather *Cotton*'s *Milk for Babes*; his Father's *Remarkable Providences*; and a Book to prove, that there *were Witches*; and when any of theſe were offered for her to read in, ſhe would be ſtruck dead, and fall into hideous Convulſions. Theſe good Books, (*he ſays*) *were mortal to her*; and leſt the World ſhould be ſo dull, as not to take him right, he adds, *p.* 23. *I hope I have not ſpoiled the Credit of the Books, by telling how much the Devil hated them.*

To

To make the Caſe more manifeſt both Ways he tried her with other Books; as *Quakers* Books, *Popiſh* Books; the *Cambridge* and *Oxford Jeſts*, a *Prayer-Book*, a Book written to prove that there were *No Witches*: And the Devil would let her read theſe as long as ſhe would; and particularly ſhe treated the *Prayer-Book* with great Reſpect; and, which was very ſtrange, the Devil was ſo ſure that nothing in that Book could do her good, that he would ſuffer her to read the very Scriptures in that: But when, for Experiment, Mr. *Mather* turned to the very ſame Texts in the *Bible*, ſhe could as ſoon die as read them there.

Adv. I did not doubt but this would make you merry; but ſince it is true in Fact, What have you to ſay againſt it?

Clerg. Nothing at all but this, That tho' our *Common-Prayer-Book* be for ever confuted by this Witneſs, yet there muſt be a Miſtake in placing the *Popiſh* Books in the ſame Black Liſt with thoſe that the Devil loves; for Mr. *Baxter* hath proved the Devil's Hatred of *Popiſh* Books by as ſubſtantial a Witneſs, as Mr. *Mather* can prove his Hatred of his Grandfather's *Milk for Babes*. See Mr. *Baxter's Certainty of the World of Spirits*, p. 111. — " While *Modeſtus*, a *Capuchin*, " was yet Fifty Paces from my Chamber, the " Girl fell down as one deprived of Life, &c. " The Mother ſeeing the Child fall, ſaid, the " *Capuchins* were coming. She had no ſooner " ſaid this but they knocked at the Door. When " they were come in, and had lighted the con-

" secrated Taper, and the Exorcist had put on
" his Habit, as soon as ever he had read the first
" Words of the Exorcism, the *Girl*, which hi-
" therto had lain more immoveable than any
" dead Corps, fell a shaking all over, that she
" could not be held by Six of us, &c. I beg-
" ged the Exorcist, out of Compassion to her,
" to forbear his reading. He had scarce pro-
" nounced the last Syllable, when in an Instant,
" she lay as quiet as possible; and when they
" had quitted the House, she opened her Eyes,
" and stood up. — This Mr. *Baxter* quotes for Truth from *Henricus ab Heer*, *Obs.* 8. And I desire you, Mr. *Advocate*, to give me a good Reason why the Devils that are in *Flanders*, are tormented by the *Popish* Books; and in *New-England* are as fond of them, as of the *Oxford* Jests, or the *Common-Prayer-Book*, or even a Book to prove that there are no Witches?

Adv. I know you think this Difference is owing to the Notions, or Faith, or Humours, or Tricks of the Parties, and the Management of the Exorcists: But such Fits may be Diabolical for all this; for tho' evil Spirits cannot be supposed in reality to be differently affected according to *Popish*, or *Independent* Notions; yet the very same Spirit may counterfeit a Torture, or a Delight, at the very same Book, according as he can better make use of it for a Snare to those that are about him.

Clerg. That you may see I give you fair Play, I will suppose this: But then in requital, I hope you will allow me, that these Tortures

of

of the Devil are no ſufficient Trial to decide the Truth of Books and Doctrines.

Adv. Mr. *Mather* himſelf tells you as much, *p.* 23. He owns it is a fanciful Buſineſs, and no Teſt for the Truth to be determined by.

Clerg. I will not ask you how you reconcile this Clauſe with the many Experiments he made, and his printing and preſſing the Argument in his Sermon afterward; for my Buſineſs is not to expoſe him, but to find out the true and falſe Rules for the Diſcovery of Witches: And therefore I ask you this Queſtion, If the ſtanding and falling of afflicted Perſons be no ſafe Trial of the *Goodneſs* or *Badneſs* of *Books*; How comes it to be a better Teſt of the *Guilt* or *Innocence* of *Perſons?* The Experiment anſwers Expectation in *Perſons*, juſt as it does in *Books*. This Teſt hath been made uſe of in almoſt all the famous Trials that we have upon Record; and particularly in that before my Lord Chief Baron *Hales:* But ſince the Devil, upon your own Suppoſition, will pretend Torture when he feels none, and fall down when he needs not; What ſhould make Men venture the Lives of their Chriſtian Brethren upon a Trial, that muſt be as falſe and fallacious as the Devil can make it?

I will obſerve one Thing more from Mr. *Mather*'s Book. He took this young Woman home, that he might the better make his Obſervations. She often uſed to ſay, that the Witches brought her an Inviſible Horſe; and then ſhe would ſkip into a Chair, and ſeat her ſelf in a riding Poſture; and after that, ſhe would be moved as if *Am-*

bling, and *Trotting*, and *Gallopping*. She talked with invisible Company, that seemed to go with her, and listned for their Answers. After two or three Minutes, she would seem to think her self at a Rendezvous with Witches a great way off, and soon after return back upon her Imaginary Horse, and then come to her self; and once she told Mr. *Mather* of three that she said had been there, and what they had said. In many other Authors, there are Relations of Persons that have been seen to lie still intranced at home, while they have said, they have been at these Witches Meetings; and from those, and this, I would observe these four Things:

1. Those that have made no Compact, and are not Witches, may fancy that they take these airy Journeys with Witches. For Mr. *Mather* does not suppose this young Woman was a Witch, but a Religious Person, afflicted by others, a Counterfeit, or perhaps a *Dæmoniac*.

2. Those Journies and Rendezvouses are not real, but fantastick Things, like *Dreams*. Mr. *Mather*, and a House full of Witnesses often stood by, and saw her at home in her Chair, all the Time that she thought her self at their Meetings.

3. Courts of Justice may as well hang People, upon their Confessions, for the Murders they think they commit in their Dreams, as for what they fancy they do in these Trances. What if this Girl, in this Extasy of Mind, when she had not the use of her Reason, had made a Compact, and thought she had set her Name to it, and joined

joined with other Witches in Murders, and confessed them? What wise Man would have turned such a Confession to her Hurt? Physick for Madness would be proper for such a one; but a Stake or Gallows would be barbarous.

4. It would be harder yet to hang other People for what these Brainsick Persons fancy they see them do.

Adv. Have you any Thing else to observe from Mr. *Mather*'s Book?

Clerg. Yes; observe the Time of the Publication of that Book, and of Mr. *Baxter*'s. Mr. *Mather*'s came out 1690, and Mr. *Baxter*'s the Year after; and Mr. *Mather*'s Father's Remarkable Providences had been out before that: And in the Year 1692, the Frights and Fits of the afflicted, and the Imprisonment and Execution of Witches in *New-England*, made as sad a Calamity, as a Plague or War. I know Mr. *Cotton Mather*, in his late *Folio*, imputes it to the *Indian Paw-waws* sending their Spirits amongst them; but I attribute it to Mr. *Baxter*'s Book, and his and his Father's, and the false Principles, and frightful Stories that filled the People Minds with great Fears and dangerous Notions.

And here I will lay before you a brief State of the Facts of those *New-England* Witchcrafts. My Author, for the greatest Part of it, is Mr. *Calef*, a Merchant in that Plantation, and an Eye-Witness of much that he wrote. In his Book there are many Tryals at large, and many Circumstances that I have taken no notice of, and therefore I recommend to you the Book it

ſelf; and I take it to be as plain a Proof as any I have met with, of the Miſtakes and Miſchiefs of thoſe Notions that I am arguing againſt. *The Book was printed for* Nath. Hillar, *at the* Prince's Arms *in* Leaden-Hall Street, London.

In the latter End of *February* 1694, divers young Perſons, belonging to the Family of Mr. *Parris*, Miniſter of *Salem*, and one or more of the Neighbourhood, began to act after a ſtrange and unuſual Manner. They crept into Holes, and under Chairs and Stools. They uſed antick Geſtures, and ſpake ridiculous Speeches, and fell into Fits. After ſome Time, and a Day of Prayer kept, the afflicted Perſons named ſeveral that they ſaid they ſaw in their Fits afflicting them, and in particular, an *Indian* Woman, that lived in Mr. *Parris*'s Houſe, and had tried a Trick with a Cake of Rye Meal, and the Children's Water laid in Aſhes, to diſcover the Witches. She being beaten, and threatned, confeſs'd her ſelf to be the Witch, and ſaid the Devil urged her to ſign a Book. Others confeſs'd their being urged to ſign the Book. One ſaid it was a red Book, of a conſiderable Thickneſs, and about a Cubit long.

In a little Time, the Numbers of the afflicted increaſed to Ten, and the accuſed were many more. One Goodw. *Cory* was examined; the afflicted ſaid, ſhe bit, pinched, and ſtrangled them. They ſaid, they ſaw her *Likeneſs* bring a Book to them to ſign. At the Time of her Tryal, they ſaid, a black Man whiſper'd in her Ear, and that ſhe had a yellow Bird, that even

then

then ſucked between her Fingers. Orders were given to ſearch the Place. The Girl that ſaw it, ſaid it was now too late, ſhe had removed a Pin, and put it on her Head; upon Search it was found, that a Pin was there ſticking upright.

A Child, of about Four or Five Years old, was accuſed, and apprehended. The Accuſers ſaid, this Child bit them, and would ſhow the the Marks of ſmall Teeth upon their Arm. As many as the Child caſt its Eye upon, would complain that they were in Torment.

April 11. 1692. There was a publick Hearing before Six Magiſtrates, and ſeveral Miniſters. The afflicted complained againſt many, with hideous Clamours and Screechings. One Goodw. *Proctor* was (according to the Phraſe much uſed upon ſuch Occaſions) cried out of, and her Husband coming to attend, and aſſiſt her, the Accuſers cried out of him alſo.

About this Time, beſides the Experiment of the afflicted falling at the Sight, they put the accuſed upon ſaying the Lord's Prayer, and ſearched for Teats, and fancied they found one upon Goodw. *Biſhop*.

May 14 1692. Sir *William Phips* entred upon the Government, and put the Witches in Chains: Upon that, it was ſaid, that the afflicted Perſons were free from their Tortures.

May 31. Capt. *Aldin* committed, and after Fifteen Weeks Impriſonment he was glad to make his Eſcape, and fly from a Tryal.

June 10. *Bridget Biſhop* was executed, proteſting her Innocence.

July 19. Five were executed. One of them was *Sarah Good.* Mr. *Noyes* urged her to confeſs, and ſaid ſhe knew ſhe was a Witch. To which ſhe replied, he was a Lyar. *I am no more a Witch than you are a Wizard; and if you take away my Life, God will give you Blood to drink.*

Rebecca Nurſe was another of thoſe Five. At firſt the Jury brought her in, *Not Guilty.* Immediately all the Accuſers in the Court, and ſuddenly after, all the afflicted out of Court, made a hideous Outcry, to the Amazement, not only of the Spectators, but of the Court. They were ſent out again to conſider better of one Expreſſion of hers; and returning, they brought her in *Guilty*, and ſhe was executed with the reſt, all Five maintaining their Innocence to the laſt.

Aug. 19. Five more were executed, denying any Guilt in that Matter of Witchcraft. One of them was Mr. *Burroughs*, a Miniſter. When he was upon the Ladder, he made a Speech for the clearing his Innocency, with ſuch ſolemn and ſerious Expreſſions as were to the Admiration of all preſent, and drew Tears from many. The Accuſers ſaid the black Man dictated to him.

John Willard was another of thoſe Five. He had been employed in fetching in ſeveral that were accuſed; but at laſt declining to fetch in more, he was cried out of. He made his Eſcape Forty Miles from *Salem*; yet it is ſaid, that the Accuſers told the exact Time when he was apprehended, ſaying, *Now* Willard *is taken.*

Sept. 16. *Giles Cory* pleaded *Not Guilty*, but having found that they clear'd none that had been tried, he resolved to be press'd, that is, I suppose rather than be tried by such Juries. In pressing, his Tongue was forc'd out of his Mouth, but the Sheriff with his Cane thrust it in again when he was dying.

Sept. 22. The same Year Eight more were executed. The Cart going to the Hill with them, was set for a Time. The afflicted said the Devil hindred it.

In the beginning of *October*, Mr. *Cotton Mather*, at the desire of Sir *William Phips* the Governor, and with the Approbation of two of their Judges, publish'd seven of the Tryals of those that suffer'd. And as they grounded themselves chiefly upon our Law, and Precedents and Books from *England*, he put before them an Abridgment of the Tryals of the two Women that were condemned by my Lord Chief Baron *Hales* at *Bury*, 1664. As also an Abridgment of the Rules and Signs of Witches, that are in *Perkins*, *Barnard*, and *Gaul*, and from Mr. *Baxter*'s Book he laid before them the Case of the *Suffolk* Witches, 1654. See his *more Wonders of the invisible World*.

I take notice of this, because the more either they or others have been influenc'd by our Law, Tryals or Books, the more Reason there is that we should offer them something towards the clearing any Mistakes in them.—— But to proceed in the Account.

In

In this ſame Month of *October*, one of the afflicted complained of Mrs. *Hale*, whoſe Husband was the Miniſter of *Beverly*, and had been very active in theſe Proſecutions, but being fully ſatisfied of his Wife's Innocency, he altered his Judgment: For it was come to a ſtated Controverſy amongſt them, *Whether the Devil could afflict in a good Man's Shape*? This Accuſation of Mrs. *Hale*, and ſome others, very ſober People, brought them to believe, that he might, or at leaſt that he could manage Matters ſo as the afflicted ſhould think he did. This Reaſon afterwards prevailed with many, and had much Influence to the ſucceeding Change of Affairs; but it did not convince them ſo ſoon, but that there were many Impriſonments after this, and ſome condemned, tho' none executed.

Mr. *Philip Engliſh* and his Wife fled the Country, and their Eſtate was ſeized to the Value of 1500 Pounds, and not above 300 Pounds found to be reſtored, when the Storm was over, that they durſt return home.

About this Time, one *Joſeph Ballard*, of *Andover*, ſent to *Salem*, for ſome of theſe Accuſers, who pretended to have the ſpectral Sight, to tell him who afflicted his Wife. When theſe People came to any Place, they uſually fell into a Fit; after which, they would name one that they ſaw ſitting on the Head, and another on the Feet of the afflicted; and ſoon after their coming to *Andover* 50 Perſons were complained of for afflicting their Neighbours. Here many accuſed themſelves of riding upon Poles through the

the Air. Many Parents believed their Children to be Witches, and many Husbands their Wives: And others, besides those that were sent for, were thought to have the same spectral Sight.

Mr. *Dudley Bradstreet*, a Justice of Peace, in *Andover*, having himself committed 30 or 40 to Prisons, for these supposed Witchcrafts, himself and his Wife were both cried out of by these Accusers, and durst not stand a Tryal, but fled for their Lives. They said Mr. *Bradstreet* had killed nine; for they said they saw the Ghosts of murdered People hover over those that had killed them.

A Dog being afflicted at *Salem*, those that had the spectral Sight, said, Mr. *John Bradstreet*, the Justice's Brother, afflicted the Dog, and then rid upon him. He made his Escape, and the Dog was put to Death, and was all of the afflicted that suffered.

Another Dog was said to afflict others, and they fell into their Fits, when the Dog looked upon them. The Dog was put to Death.

A worthy Gentleman of *Boston*, being accused by those at *Andover*, he sent a Writ to arrest the Accusers in a Thousand Pound Action, for Defamation. From that Time, the Accusations at *Andover* generally ceased.

Jan. 3. 169$\frac{2}{3}$. Thirty Bills of Indictments were brought in *Ignoramus*. Six and Twenty were brought in *Billa vera*; and upon all those, only three were found guilty upon Tryal.

Jan. 31. 169$\frac{2}{3}$. Seven that were under Condemnation were reprieved.

April

April. 25. 1693. One was tried that confessed. But they were now so well taught what Weight to lay upon Confessions, that the Jury brought her in, *Not Guilty*, tho' she confessed she was.

And now after a Storm of sixteen Months, nineteen Persons having been hanged, and one press'd to Death, and eight more condemn'd; above fifty having confessed themselves Witches, of which not one executed; above 150 in Prison, and above 200 more accused: And the Accusers, that began with an *Indian* Slave, being grown bold to cry out of the Justices that had prosecuted others, and the better Sort of People amongst them, it was thought Time to put a Stop to Prosecutions; and accordingly, about *April* 1693, the accused Persons in all Prisons were set at Liberty, and those that had fled the Country returned home.

And those Towns having regained their Quiet; and this Case being of that Nature, that Facts and Experience are of more Weight than mere rational Arguments, it will be worth our while to observe some Passages that happened after this Storm, when they had Time to look back upon what had passed.

And first it is observable, that as the supposed Witchcrafts of *Salem* began in the House of Mr. *Parris*, Minister of that Town; and he had been a Witness, and zealous Prosecutor of the supposed Witches, many of his People withdrew from his Communion, and in *April* 1693, drew up Articles against him. They were so settled

in their Aversion, that they continued their Prosecutions three or four Years, and *July* 21, 1697, they drew up a Remonstrance, and presented it to Arbitrators that the Matter was referred to.

The latter Part of their Remonstrance is thus.

" His believing the Devil's Accusations, and " readily departing from all Charity to Persons, " tho' of blameless Lives, upon such Suggesti- " ons; his promoting such Accusations, &c.

" That Mr. *Parris*'s going to *Mary Walut*, " or *Abigail Williams*, to know who afflict- " ed the People in their Illness, we understand " this to be a Dealing with them that have a " familiar Spirit, and an implicit denying the " Providence of God, which alone, as we be- " lieve, can send Afflictions, or cause Devils to " afflict any.

" That Mr. *Parris* by these Practices and " Principles, hath been the Beginner and Pro- " curer of the sorest Afflictions, not to this Village " only, but to this whole Country, that did ever " befall them.

Mr. *Parris* did acknowledge his Mistakes, and profess he should be far from acting again upon the same Principles: But they thought that was not enough for such an Instrument of their Miseries, and therefore, by the Determination of the Arbitrators, he was dismissed. *See* Calef, *p*. 64.

Dec. 17. 1696. There was a Proclamation for a Fast, and in the Proclamation this Clause.— " That God would shew us what we know not, " and help us, wherein we have done amiss, to

" do

"do ſo no more; and eſpecially that whatever
"Miſtakes on either Hand, had been fallen into,
"either by the Body of this People, or any
"Orders of Men, referring to the late Tragedy,
"raiſed amongſt us by Satan and his Inſtru-
"ments, through the awful Judgments of God,
"he would humble us therefore, and pardon all
"the Errors of his Servants, *&c.*

Upon the Day of the Faſt, one that had ſat in Judicature in *Salem*, delivered in a Paper, and while it was reading, ſtood up. As it is reported by Memory, it was, "That he was apprehen-
"ſive, that he might have fallen into ſome Er-
"rors in the Matters of *Salem*, and to pray,
"that the Guilt of ſuch Miſcarriages may not
"be imputed, either to the Country in general,
"or to him or his Family in particular, *p.* 144.

Thoſe that confeſſed went off from their Confeſſions, and ſeveral of them ſigned a Writing, of which this is part.

"After Mr. *Barnard* had been at Prayer, we
"were blindfolded, and our Hands were laid
"upon the afflicted Perſons, they being in their
"Fits, and falling into their Fits at our coming
"into their Preſence (as they ſaid,) and ſome led
"us, and laid our Hands upon them, and then,
"they ſaid, they were well, and that we were
"guilty of afflicting them; whereupon we were
"ſeized, and ſent Priſoners to *Salem*. And by
"Reaſon of that ſudden Surprizal, we knowing
"our ſelves altogether innocent of that Crime,
"we were all exceedingly aſtoniſhed, and amaz-

"ed,

"ed, and consternated and affrighted, even out "of our Reason. And our nearest and dearest "Relations seeing us in that dreadful Condition, "and apprehending, that there was no other "way to save our Lives, but by confessing our "selves to be such and such Persons as the af- "flicted represented us to be; they out of ten- "der Love and Pity perswaded us to confess "what we did confess. And indeed that Con- "fession, that it is said we made, was no other "than what was suggested to us by some Gen- "tlemen, they telling us we were Witches, and "they knew it, and we knew it, and they knew "that we knew it, which made us think that it "was so; and our Understanding, our Reason, "and our Faculties almost gone, we were not "capable of judging our Condition, *&c.* And "most of what we said was but a consenting "to what they said. Some time after, when "we had been better composed, they telling us "what we had confessed, we did profess that we "were innocent and ignorant of such Things. "And we hearing that *Samuel Wardwell* had "renounced his Confession, and quickly after "had been condemned and executed: Some of "us were told, that we were going after *Ward-* "*well.*

Signed by

Mary Osgood, Mary Tiler, Deliv. Dane, Abigail Barker, Sarah Wilson, Hannah Tiler, p. 3.

Some

Some that have been of ſeveral Juries, have given forth a Paper ſigned with their own Hands, in theſe Words.

" We whoſe Names are underwritten, being
" in the Year 1692, called to ſerve as Jurors
" in Court at *Salem*, on Tryal of many, who
" were by ſome ſuſpected guilty of doing Acts
" of Witchcraft upon the Bodies of ſundry Per-
" ſons:
" We confeſs that we our ſelves were not
" capable to underſtand, nor able to withſtand
" the myſterious Deluſions of the Powers of
" Darkneſs, and Prince of the Air: But were
" for want of Knowledge in our ſelves, and bet-
" ter Information from others, prevailed with to
" take up ſuch Evidence againſt the accuſed, as
" on farther Conſideration, and better Informa-
" tion, we juſtly fear was inſufficient for the
" touching the Lives of any, *Deut*. 17. 6. where-
" by we fear, we have been Inſtrumental with
" others, tho' ignorantly and unwittingly, to
" bring upon our ſelves, and this People of
" the Lord, the Guilt of innocent Blood, &c.
" We do therefore hereby ſignify to all in ge-
" neral (and to the ſurviving Sufferers in ſpe-
" cial) our deep Senſe of, and Sorrow for our
" Errors, in acting on ſuch Evidence, to the
" Condemnation of any Perſon.
" And we do hereby declare, that we juſtly fear,
" that we were ſadly deluded and miſtaken, for
" which we are much diſquieted, and diſtreſſed

" in

" in our Minds; and do therefore humbly beg
" Forgiveneſs, firſt of God, for Chriſt's Sake,
" for this our Error; and pray, that God would
" not impute the Guilt of it to our ſelves, nor
" others: And we alſo pray, that we may be
" conſidered candidly, and aright, by the living
" Sufferers, as being then under the Power of
" a ſtrong and general Deluſion, utterly unac-
" quainted with, and not experienc'd in Mat-
" ters of that Nature.

" We do heartily ask Forgiveneſs of you all,
" whom we have juſtly offended, and do de-
" clare, according to our preſent Minds, we
" would none of us do ſuch Things again on
" ſuch Grounds, for the whole World; pray-
" ing you to accept of this in way of Satisfac-
" tion for our Offence, and that you would
" bleſs the Inheritance of the Lord, that he
" may be intreated for the Land.

Foreman.	*Thomas Fisk*,	*Thomas Perly*, Sen.
	William Fisk,	*John Pebody*,
	John Bacheler,	*Thomas Perkins*,
	Tho. Fisk, jun.	*Samuel Sayer*,
	John Dane,	*Andrew Elliot*,
	Joſeph Evelith,	*Henry Herrick*.

Since I have drawn up this Account from Mr. *Calef*, and Mr. *Mather*'s Books, I have met with a farther and later Relation of theſe Matters, publiſhed by Mr. *Cotton Mather* himſelf, at the 80th Page of his 6th Book of the Hiſtory of *New-England*, printed 1702. The Account he

publishes was written by Mr. *John Hales*, whose Wife, as I mentioned before, was at last accused amongst the others suspected for Witches, and she being a Woman of good Reputation, her danger began to open their Eyes.

See § 6.— " But that which chiefly carried " on this Matter to such a Height, was the in- " creasing of Confessions, until they amounted " to near upon fifty; and four or six of them " upon their Tryals, owned their Guilt of this " Crime, and were condemned for the same, but " not executed. And many of the Confessors " confirmed their Confessions with very strong " Circumstances, as their exact Agreement " with the Accusations of the afflicted; their " punctual Agreement with the Accusati- " ons of their Fellow Confessors; their relat- " ing the Times when they covenanted with " Satan, and the Reasons that moved them " thereunto: Their Witch-Meetings, and that " they had their mock Sacraments of Bap- " tism, and the Supper, in some of them: Their " signing the Devil's Book, and some shewed " the Scars of the Wounds, which, they said, " were made to fetch Blood with, to sign the " Devil's Book; and some said, they had Imps " to suck them, and shewed Sores raw, where " they said they were sucked by them.

§ 7. " The afflicted complained, that the Spe- " ctres which vexed them, urged them to set " their Hands to a Book presented to them, " (as to them it seemed) with Threatnings of " great Torments if they signed not, and Pro-

" mises

"mises of Ease if they obey'd. Among these "*D. H.* as she said (which sundry others con-"fessed afterward) being overcome by the Ex-"tremity of her Pains, did sign the Book pre-"sented, and had the promised Ease; and im-"mediately upon it, a Spectre in her Shape af-"flicted another Person, and said, I have signed "the Book, and have Ease; now do you sign, "and so shall you have Ease. And one Day "this afflicted Person pointed at a certain Place "in the Room, and said there is *D. H.*; upon "which a Man with his Rapier struck at the "Place, tho' he saw no Shape, and the afflict-"ed called out, you have given her a small "Prick about the Eye. Soon after this, the said "*D. H.* confess'd her self to be made a Witch, "by signing the Devil's Books, and declared "that she had afflicted the Maid that complain-"ed of her; and in doing of it, had received "two Wounds by a Sword or Rapier; a small "one about the Eye, which she shewed to the "Magistrates, and a bigger on the Side, of which "she was searched by a discreet Woman, who "reported, that *D. H.* had on her Side the "Sign of a Wound newly healed, &c.

§ 11. "By these Things, you may see, how "this Matter was carried on, *viz.* chiefly by "the Complaints and Accusations of the afflict-"ed, and then by the Confessions of the accus-"ed, condemning themselves and others. Yet "Experience shewed, that the more there were "apprehended, the more were still afflicted by "Satan; and the Number of the Confessors in-

" creasing, did but increase the Number of the " accused; and the executing of some, made " way for the apprehending of others; for still " the afflicted complained of being tormented " by new Objects, as the former were removed: " So that those that were concerned, grew amaz- " ed at the Number and Quality of the Persons " accused; and feared that Satan, by his Wiles, " had inwrapped innocent Persons under the " Imputation of that Crime. And at last it was " evidently seen, that there must be a Stop put, " or the Generation of the Children of God " would fall under that Condemnation. Hence- " forth, therefore, the Juries generally acquit- " ted such as were tried, fearing they had gone " too far before. And Sir *William Phips* the " Governor, reprieved all that were condemned, " even the Confessors as well as others. And " the Confessors generally fell off from their " Confessions; some saying they remembred " nothing of what they had said; and others " said that they had belied themselves and o- " thers, *&c.*

§ 12. He adds these Reasons why he believed they went too far:

" 1. The Numbers greater than could be ima- " gined to be really guilty.

" 2. The Quality. Religious Persons, that " had taken great Pains to bring up their Chil- " dren well.

" 3. All the nineteen that were executed, " denying the Crime to Death.

" 4. Upon ceasing the Prosecution all was " well and quiet.

Adv.

Adv. There is nothing in this whole Caſe that ſeems ſo ſtrange to me, as what they ſay of evil Spirits appearing in the Shape of innocent Perſons. Not but that it may poſſibly be true what is thought by ſome, That a Spirit, by his own natural Powers, can form either his own Subſtance or Vehicle, or borrow'd Matter into the Shape of any Man whatever: But I can never believe but that Divine Providence would interpoſe, and lay their Natural Powers under a Divine Reſtraint, rather than ſuffer them to uſe them for ſuch Miſchief; for otherwiſe good Men have no Defence againſt him. He may lay the Blame of his own Actions upon whom he will, and bring them under Condemnation for what he does.

Clerg. Yes, if they who are to judge them be ſo weak and credulous as to believe him; but if Magiſtrates do their Duty in true Judgment, and puniſh Offenders only for their own real Acts of Wickedneſs, not for Effects that Spirits work in other Mens Shapes without them, then his Appearances will hurt no Body. But if inſtead of this, contrary to the frequent Warnings in Scripture, they who are to judge thoſe Caſes, give evil Spirits that Advantage againſt them; Hath God any where promiſed, that by a particular Act of Power he will ſave credulous Men from being deceived; becauſe, otherwiſe, the Blood of the innocent Men will be in danger? How much innocent Blood of Man is daily ſhed by the Superſtition of Perſecutors, or unjuſt Laws of Tyrants? How many righteous *Abels* fall every Day by Men that are as cruel and as ungodly

godly as wicked *Cain?* And how do we know but that ſome may fall alſo by the Craft of evil Spirits, deluding Magiſtrates that take not due Care to prevent them? Providence can make ſuch crooked Things ſtrait in the other World, and therefore in this may permit them for Probation, and therefore inſtead of tempting God, Men muſt take heed to their own Actions, or elſe they may bring this high Guilt upon themſelves, and Miſchief upon others. And as this is a Point that deſerves to be well remembred, tho' I have mention'd it once before, I will now add to it ſome Inſtances where evil Spirits have been ſaid to have appeared in the Shapes of thoſe that were not ſuſpected to be otherwiſe than very innocent and virtuous Perſons.

Adv. I hope you will give us no Examples but ſuch as you believe your ſelf.

Clerg. I cannot promiſe that, becauſe I know not what is true, and what not, in this Matter. Many a Man hath verily believed he hath ſeen a Spirit *externally* before him, when it hath been only an *internal* Image dancing in his own Brain. By this Means Books are full of Stories of ſuch like Facts, and no Man can tell which of them are by real Spirits, which by diabolical Illuſion, either within or without the Brain; and which are only ſtrong Imaginations, without any Spirit at all. And therefore I dare not aſſure you of my own Belief of the Inſtances I ſhall give; yet I will promiſe to bring none but from ſober Authors, and ſuch as are uſually quoted and allowed of when they ſpeak againſt accus'd Witches:

And

And therefore it is but common Justice that they should have as much Credit when they deliver any thing that makes for them.

Lavater of *Walking Spirits*, (for it is the *English* Translation that I have by me) 1st Part, 19th Chapter, speaks thus. " I heard a grave " wise Man, which was a Magistrate in the " Territory of *Tigurie*, who affirmed, That as " he and his Servant went through the Pastures " in the Summer very early, he spied one whom " he knew very well, wickedly defiling himself " with a Mare; wherewith being amazed, " he returned back again, and knocked at his " House whom he supposed he had seen, and " and there understood for Certainty, that he " went not one Foot out of his Chamber that " Morning, &c. I rehearse *(saith he)* this " History for this End, That Judges should be " very circumspect in these Cases; for the De- " vil by these means doth often circumvent the " Innocent.

Mr. *Clark*, in his 1st Vol. of *Examples*, p. 150. reports how an evil Spirit appeared to Mr. *Earl* at one Time in the Form of Mr. *Lyddal*, and at another under the Form of the famous Mr. *Rogers* of *Dedham*. To be sure that evil Spirit appeared to Mr. *Earl* for some evil Purpose; and if instead of appearing to him, he had appeared to some melancholy Person that had been thought to be under the Power of Witchcraft, must those two good Men have come under the Suspicion of being Wizzards?

Papists have many Relations of this sort. I will give you one that was either true in Fact, or which from the Observation of such like Facts, was contrived to give the Readers needful Caution. It is in *Barth. dé Spina*, in his *Quæstiones de Strigibus.* —— " There he tells us, that " *S. German* lodging in an Inn in the Night-" time, saw a Rendezvous of Witches feasting " and dancing; and calling up the People of " the House, he ask'd them if they knew those " Persons: They said, Yes, they were their " Neighbours, that lived in the same Town; " whereupon, to convince them of the Devil's " Wiles, he commanded the Spirits to keep their " Places; and sent the People to the Houses of " those Neighbours that they saw, and they " found them all in their Beds at home. Upon " this St. *German* adjured the Devils, and they " confess'd, that they had taken those Shapes " to impose upon credulous Men. Very likely that Legend was contrived by some Body or other who knew that bare Arguments of Reason would not be strong enough to cope with a rooted Error of that Nature; and therefore thought it would be no Sin, but a needful Service, to drive out one Superstition with another: And since it was only to teach People the Snares of the Devil, and save the Lives of innocent People, after so many bloody Executions as they had seen, it will be very necessary that we should receive the Doctrine, tho' we neglect the Tale.

These good People in *New-England* have had, perhaps, as large Experience of these Matters

as any; and in the midſt of their Confuſions, their Clergy had a Meeting at the Deſire of their Magiſtrates, to give their Opinion in ſeveral Caſes propoſed to to them: And the Queſtion was, *Whether Satan may not appear in the Shape of an innocent and pious, as well as of a nocent and wicked Perſon, to afflict ſuch as ſuffer by Diabolical Moleſtation?* And they returned it as their Opinion, *That he might*; and confirmed it not only by Examples of other Times and Places, but by what they had ſeen amongſt themſelves. And it is particularly obſervable, how in the latter Part of their Tragedy, Mr. *Cotton Mather* changed his Mind in this Point from what he had been of in the Beginning: For in the 27th Page of his *Memorable Prov.* he adviſed the afflicted young Woman in his Houſe, if ſhe could not tell the Names of thoſe that ſhe ſaw at the Witches Meetings, to deſcribe them by their Cloaths. But in the Year 1693, when he viſited another in a like Caſe, he ſaith, He and his Father *gave her ſolemn Charges, that ſhe ſhould rather die than tell the Names of any whom ſhe might imagine that ſhe ſaw.* See Mr. *Mather*'s Letter in Mr. *Calef*, p. 20. I ſpeak not this in way of Reproach; for we are not the Men that may upbraid one another for altering our Minds, when God teaches us Wiſdom by his Providence; but when others ſee an Error, let not us continue in it.

Since I have collected and drawn up theſe Things, I ſee the Author of *The Compleat Hi-*

ſtory

ſtory of Witchcraft, &c. hath printed the *Firſt* Facts and Depoſitions that deceived theſe good People in *New-England*, and hath ſtopt there, without giving any manner of Notice of the Miſchief that follow'd, and the Sorrow they had for what they had done: And who can be able to give a rational Anſwer to ſuch a Caſe, where the Fact is laid before him ſo partially? How certainly muſt our People fall into the ſame Follies, if their Minds are poiſoned with ſuch falſe Hiſtory, and no one troubles himſelf to anſwer them, and let the Truth be ſeen. I hope therefore ingenious Men will not only juſtify me with reſpect to the Pains that I have taken in this Subject, but will take part in ſuch Labours as are neceſſary to decry ſuch ill Books, and prevent the Miſchief they muſt neceſſarily do, if ſuffered to paſs as true Hiſtory, unanſwer'd.

CHAP. VI.

The pretended Witchcrafts at Mohra *in* SWEDEN.

Adv. LET us leave this Caſe of *New-England*. You ſee they are ſenſible of their Error, and are much to be commended for their honeſt Confeſſion of it. Few have had Virtue enough to do what they have done for preventing the ill Effect of their Example; and ſince we learn truth and Wiſdom from their Miſtake, we ought not to reproach them for it. But what

what do you think of the Witchcrafts at *Mohra* in *Sweden*? The Narrative of their Caſe is ſaid to be taken out of the Records of the Court ſoon after the Time, and is ſince tranſlated out of *High Dutch* by Dr. *Horneck*, and is printed at the End of Mr. *Glanvil*, and Dr. *More*'s Relations of Witches and Spirits. There were condemned at that one Time of Judgment, no longer ſince than 1670, Fourſcore and five Perſons, fifteen of which were Children; and moſt, if not all of them, were burnt and executed. There were beſides, ſix and thirty Children that ran the Gantler, and twenty were whipt on the Hands at the Church Door every *Sunday* for three Weeks together. Now what Judgment will you make of this? Was this a Flame kindled by credulous Men? Were there only ſome odd Diſeaſes amongſt the Children; and did ſuperſtitious Principles and Proſecutions blow it up into ſuch a ſad Calamity? In a word, Do you think, this Caſe was like that in *New-England*?

Clerg. I make not the leaſt Queſtion but it was; and tho' it be a great Diſadvantage to anſwer where one hath little or no Account of the Fact, except that ſhort Pamphlet that was written on purpoſe to ſupport its Belief, and therefore would leave out ſuch Things as would help to detect it; yet it confutes it ſelf; for I think it hath as broad Signs of a miſtaken, but cruel Superſtition, as any that is extant.

And firſt, you know, the Foundation that I ground upon is, That theſe ſuppoſed Witchcrafts are much owing to falſe Principles, and impru-

dent

dent Proſecutions. And juſt ſo it was here; for this Power of carrying away Children, for which theſe poor People died, both began and ended with the Accuſations. For obſerve, *Page* 8. theſe Witches confeſs that till of late, till that Year and the laſt, they had little or no Power of carrying them away. This ſhews, that their imaginary Power began with the Proſecution; for the King's Commiſſioners ſat in *Auguſt* 1. and the Accuſation muſt have been carrying on that Piece of the Year before it, and ſome part of the laſt, before it would come ſo high as a Royal Viſitation; and juſt ſo long, they ſay, they had had their great Power. And it ended alſo with it, for theſe Judges did not go on accuſing and burning more; I have heard, for the ſame Reaſon for which they ſtopped in *New-England*, becauſe it came to the Wealthy, and becauſe they could ſee no End of Executions. And therefore they did ſtay their Hands; and five Years after, 1715, I find the very Bruit of theſe Witchcrafts was over, and the Place was in Peace. See a Letter from *Sweden* to *Bekker*, in the Fourth Volume of his *World bewitched*, *Ch.* 29. §. 11. Now from hence I argue, that as this mighty Power began and ended with the Proſecution, ſo it owed its very *Being* to it. They had had no ſuch Flame, if their own Superſtition had not kindled it.

Then obſerve, 2. There were three hundred Children ſaid to be carried away every Night out of one Town to *Blockula*. The Children ſaid, they were ſure they were there in Body; for

for the Devil fed them at the Door, while the Witches ſat down with him at the Table. And yet there is not Mention of one ſingle Witneſs to prove, that any one Child was ever wanting out of its Father's Houſe or Bed; nay, one Clergyman ſat up and watched, and ſhewed his Wife the Child in Bed all Night; only about Twelve a-Clock the Child groaned and ſhivered. Is it not plain then, that the People had frighten'd their Children with ſo many Tales, that they could not ſleep without dreaming of the Devil; and then made the poor Women of the Town confeſs what the Children ſaid of them.

3. Obſerve the monſtrous Abſurdity of theſe ſuppoſed Facts; for I think they make the coarſeſt Story that I ever met with. Theſe Women and Children, they ſay, rode to *Blockula* upon Men; and thoſe Men when they came there, were reared againſt the Wall aſleep. Then again, they rode upon Poſts, or upon Goats with Spits ſtuck into their Backſides. They flew through Chimnies and Windows, without breaking either Brick or Glaſs. When they were there, they lay with the Devil, and had Sons and Daughters; and thoſe Children again were married, and brought forth Toads and Serpents. (Here are children and their Iſſue in a Night). Then they build Houſes, and the Walls fall upon them, and make them black and blue. They are beaten and abuſed, and laughed at; and yet when they thought the Devil had been dead, they made great Lamentation. Now, Mr. *Advocate*, either theſe things are real, or elſe

they

they are Dreams. If you would have me think there is any Reality, tell me why I muſt deny the Tales of the *Golden Legend*, and yet receive theſe? I love to have a Reaſon for what I do, and if you would not have me ſwallow all the Lies that are told me, give ſome Criterion or Mark of Diſtinction, whereby I may judge what is natural and probable, and what is not: But if you will give up theſe Facts, and own that they were mere Dreams or Repreſentations, tell me what Reaſon you have for hanging and burning poor People, for dreaming they do that which you know they do not do. But that you may be ſure that they were mere Dreams, or rather feigned, extorted Lies, which ſome told, and the reſt aſſented to, pray read the laſt Leaf of that Narrative. It is ſaid there, *That at that very time, while they were in Court before the Commiſſioners, the Devil appeared to them very terrible, with Claws on his Hands and Feet, and with Horns on his Head, and a long Tail behind, and ſhewed to them a Pit burning, with a Hand put out; but the Devil did thruſt the Perſon down again with an Iron Fork.* Now the Queſtion I would ask you is, Whether there was really then a fiery Pit, a Perſon burning, and thruſt down with an Iron Fork? Or was it a feigned Thing, or a falſe Deluſion?

Adv. To be ſure there was no burning Lake in the Place before them; and therefore it muſt be a falſe Deluſion.

Clerg. Why then, do you believe ſuch a real Place as *Blockula*, any more than a real Fire

before you? When you ſee them deceived, and deceiving, or elſe belying themſelves before the Faces of their Judges; why ſhould you not ſuppoſe in their Favour, that they are as much miſtaken, when they charge themſelves with flying through Walls, riding upon Men, denying God, contracting with the Devil, having Sons and Daughters by him, and building Houſes, and the reſt of that Stuff? And if their Compacts and Sacraments, and Feaſts be mere Dreams, What have they to anſwer for that made fourſcore Fires of human Bodies, becauſe the poor Wretches dreamed they did what they did not do? Such Stories will not help us to triumph over *Sadducees*, but make more *Sadducees* than there are already.

But there is one part of their Confeſſion that I think is more extraordinary than theſe. They ſay they have two Spirits called *Carriers*; one like a *Cat*, the other like a *Raven*; and theſe fetch them home *Butter*, and *Cheeſe*, and *Bacon*, and all ſorts of *Seeds* and *Milk*. Now, to paſs by the reſt, pray tell me, Mr. *Advocate*, how this Cat and Raven brought home Milk? A Cat or Raven could not well carry a Pale or Pitcher for their Milk, which way then could they bring it home? I can deviſe no way, unleſs they drank it firſt, and then ſpewed it up again for the Witches to drink after them. And I think the 15th Page intimates, that it was this way; for there it is ſaid, *That theſe Carriers ſometimes fill themſelves ſo full, that they ſpew by the way; which ſpewing is found in ſeveral Gardens*

Gardens where Colworts grow, and not far from the Houses of those Witches, and is called Butter of Witches. Now I would be glad if I could find a way of representing the Folly of this, without reflecting upon the *Swedish* Commissioners, or Dr. *Horneck*, who translated their Book; but I know no way of doing it; for it is as plain as the Day, that such Froth in Meadows and Gardens is not from *Witches* and *Spirits* spewing, but from *Grashoppers*, and other little *Insects*, that hatch their young ones sometimes in Cottons, and sometimes in Froths, and sometimes in bended Leaves, drawn over with a curious Covering as fine as Lawn; and when I see *Swedish* Judges, and Dr. *Horneck* after them, learn from the Rabble to call it *Witches Butter*, and hang and burn their Neighbours from such Evidence; I cannot but stand amazed, and am sorry so good a Man as Dr. *Horneck* was so far over-seen as to translate such a dangerous History for our People to learn from. I make no great Question but now they have his Authority, the next Time that they set upon finding Witches, they will add this Sign of *Witches Butter*, to the others that they have, of *Scratching*, and *Watching*, and *Walking*, and *Weighing*, and *Swimming*, and *Searching*; for they are much of a Piece, and fit to go together; but none of them proceed from the Preserver of Men; they come of Evil, and are Inventions of the Destroyer.

Adv. They were not these Circumstances, but their own Confessions, which were the Ground of their Condemnation.

Clerg.

Clerg. Confeſſio rei impoſſibilis non eſt Confeſſio ſanæ mentis. A Confeſſion of any thing that is impoſſible or abſurd, is not the Confeſſion of a ſound Mind. That will always be an inviolable Rule with all wiſe Judges; but it was altogether forgotten in this Caſe before us.

Then there was too much Art and Perſwaſion uſed to draw theſe miſerable Creatures to confeſs. In *Page* 5. of the Narrative, it is ſaid, *The Commiſſioners examined the Witches, but could not bring them to any Confeſſion, all continuing ſtedfaſt in their Denials. Bekker*, who quotes from the *High Dutch* Narrative that Dr. *Horneck* tranſlated, expreſſes it, *Ils nioient preſq; tout avec une grande opiniatrete, & non obſtant qu' on les y Contraigniſt.* That they all deny'd almoſt the whole thing with great Obſtinacy, tho' they were hard preſs'd. Now ſome Men, if they had been Commiſſioners, would not have preſſed them ſo hard, to confeſs ſuch abſurd Things, when they had aſſured them, that they neither did, nor could do them. Some Commiſſioners would have acquieſced, and pitied the poor Creatures, and have chidden their credulous Accuſers; but theſe Commiſſioners had other Notions, and therefore urged them farther, and extorted Confeſſions. Now how can one chuſe but think, that theſe fourſcore were juſt like the fifty Confeſſions in *New-England?* They confeſſed, becauſe they were hard preſſed, and could not be at reſt: and, perhaps, becauſe they hoped the Judges would have been more merciful than to burn ſo very

many without good Cauſe. And if inſtead of burning, they had pardoned them in *Sweden*, as they did in *New-England*, theſe would have gone off from their Confeſſions as eaſily as thoſe did.

CHAP. VII.

The Witches of Warbois.

Adv. LET us return home again to Facts amongſt our ſelves. The Witches of *Warbois* are well known; Three of them, Old *Samuel* and his Wife, and *Agnes Samuel*, their Daughter, were condemned at *Huntington*, by Mr. Juſtice *Fenner*, *April* the 4th 1593. for bewitching (as was ſuppos'd) five of Mr. *Throgmorton*'s Children, ſeven Servants, the Lady *Cromwell*, and the Goaler's Man, &c. The Father and Daughter indeed maintain'd their Innocence to the laſt; but the old Woman confeſs'd, as appears by the *Narrative* printed the ſame Year.

That which makes this Execution more remarkable is, That Sir *Samuel Cromwell*, Husband of the aforeſaid Lady *Cromwell*, having the Goods of theſe People, to the Value of Forty Pounds eſcheated to him as Lord of the Manor, gave the ſaid Forty Pounds to the Mayor and Aldermen of *Huntington*, for a Rent-Charge of Forty Shillings Yearly, to be paid out of their Town-Lands, for an Annual *Lecture* upon the Subject of *Witchcraft*, to be preach'd at

 their

their Town every *Lady-Day*, by a *Doctor* or *Batchelor* of *Divinity*, of *Queen*'s College in *Cambridge*. This Lecture is continued to this Day; and I desire to know what you have to say against that Fact.

Clerg. I make no question but that *Learned Body* hath taken Care to have that Lecture preached by such grave, judicious Persons, as would teach the People safe Notions about Witchcraft, and discourage them from imitating any thing that was amiss in that Prosecution. And as for the Donation, there is no doubt but that Superstition makes as large Offerings as true Religion; and that many Gifts have been given to support the Credit of doubtful Actions: And therefore I will pass over the *Lecture*, and consider the *Fact*.

And, 1. It ought to observ'd, that this Prosecution was not grounded upon any previous Acts of Sorcery, that these People had been taken in; but upon Experiments and Charms, which the Prosecutors compelled them to use, and tried upon them.

Then the beginning of it is such as makes the whole Thing very deservedly suspected. One of the Daughters had Fits, and was ill; but there were no Signs or Thoughts of Witchcraft, till this old Mother *Samuel* living near them, came in to see her, and sat in the Chimney-Corner with a black knit Cap on her Head; and when the Child in her Fit saw her, she said, she look'd like an old *Witch*, and from that Time took a Fancy that she had bewitch'd her. After that the other

Children had the ſame Fears and Fancies, and Fits like hers; and nothing is more common than for Children to take ſuch Frights from one another.

After this, the Lady *Cromwell*, to whoſe Husband theſe *Samuels* were Tenants, came to Mr. *Throgmorton*'s Houſe. She ſent for the old Woman, and call'd her Witch, and abuſed her, and pulled off her *Kercher*, and cut off ſome of her Hair, and gave it to Mrs. *Throgmorton* to burn for a Charm. At Night this Lady, as was very likely ſhe would after ſuch an ill Days Work, dreamt of Mother *Samuel* and a *Cat*, and fell into Fits; and about a Year and a quarter after died. And if her Death was really occaſioned by the Fits that began then, I can only count it a juſt Conſequence of her own Sin, and Folly, and Superſtition.

It is ſaid in that Narrative, that there were nine *Spirits* that belong'd to theſe People, and called Mother *Samuel* their old *Dame*. Two of their Names I have forgot, but the other ſeven were, *Pluck*, *Hardname*, *Catch*, three *Smac*'s that were Couſins, and *Blew*. The Children ſeemed to talk with theſe Spirits in their Fits. The Standers-by neither ſaw any Shape, nor heard any Voice, but only underſtood what the Spirits ſaid by the Children's Anſwers, and by what the Children told them afterward. I will give you a Specimen of one, which you may find in the Narrative, *Page* 64. The Dialogue was between one of the *Smac*'s, and Mrs. *Joan*, the eldeſt Daughter of Mr. *Throgmorton*,

morton, about the Age of ſixteen or ſeventeen Years; and, as the Thoughts of young Women about that Age, run upon Love and Courtſhip, ſhe thought *Smac* was in Love with her, and ſought to win her Favour, and taught her Charms, and fought for her, and promiſed to bring his *Old Dame* either to Confeſſion or Confuſion. But ſee the Dialogue it ſelf, as it is printed in the Narrative.

" From whence come you, Mr. *Smac*, and " what News do you bring? The Spirit an- " ſwered, that he came from Fighting. From Fighting, ſaid ſhe, with whom I pray you? " The Spirit anſwered, with *Pluck*. Where " did you fight, I pray, ſaid ſhe? The Spirit " anſwered, In his old Dame's Bakehouſe, which " is an old Houſe ſtanding in Mother *Samuel*'s " Yard, and they fought with great *Cowlſtaves* " this laſt Night. And who got the Maſtery, I " pray you, ſaid ſhe? He anſwered, That he " broke *Pluck*'s Head. Said ſhe, I would that " he had broke your Neck alſo. Saith the Spi- " rit, Is that all the Thanks that I ſhall have for " my Labour? Why, ſaith ſhe, do you look " for Thanks at my Hand? I would you were " all hang'd up one againſt another, and Dame " and all, for you are all naught; but it is no " matter, ſaid ſhe, I do not well to curſe you, " for God, I truſt, will defend me from you all. " So he departed, and bad her Farewell.

Soon after ſhe ſees *Pluck* come in with his Head hanging down, and he told her again of the

the Battel, and how his Head was broke. When he was gone, *Catch*, ſhe ſaid, came in limping with a broken Leg. And after him *Blew* brought his Arm in a String; but they threatned, that when they ſhould be well, they would join together, and be revenged of *Smac*. Next Time that *Smac* came, ſhe told him of their Deſign; but he ſet them at light. He bragg'd, that he could beat two of them himſelf; and his Couſin *Smac* would be of his Side. See theſe latter Dialogues at large, *Page 65, 66*. And I think I may venture to ſay, that this is as ridiculous as any of the *Popiſh Legends*. But when Courts of Juſtice will give Ear to the Viſions of ſickly Girls, they muſt expect ſuch Traſh.

Adv. But the old Woman confeſs'd.

Clerg. She did ſo; but I pray take notice how her Confeſſion was drawn from her. For about two Years after the firſt Accuſation, ſhe maintain'd her Innocence ſtoutly, and ſaid, they were wanton Children. But by long ill uſage, her Husband on one ſide ſwearing at and beating her, and on the other ſide Mr. *Throgmorton*, and the Children ſcratching, and trying unfair Tricks, and keeping her from her own Home, amongſt his Children, (for contrary to all other Caſes, her Preſence was their Preſervative) I reckon her Health was ſo impair'd, that one Night ſhe was vapour'd to that degree, that they thought the Devil was in her.

Then obſerve how very foully they drew her Confeſſion from her, *Page 44*. *The Children with Tears begg'd, that ſhe would confeſs, They*

ſaid

said they should be well, if she confess'd, and they wou'd forgive her from the Bottom of their Hearts; and besides that, they would intreat their Friends and their Parents, so much as in them lay, clearly to forgive and forget all that was past——Still this would not do. She would not confess, she said, what was not true. But Mr. *Throgmorton* prevailed with her to charge the Spirit in the Name of God, that they might have no more Fits. She yielded to that, and then the Children would grow well. This surpriz'd the poor Woman, and, very likely, made her believe that all had really proceeded from her ill Tongue; and having been told so often, that if she would but confess, all would be well, and they forgive her, she cried and confess'd; but in a Day or two she denied all again. Then Mr. *Throgmorton* was angry, and threatned to carry her before the Bishop to *Bugden*. And upon Condition that she might not be carried thither, she promised to confess again, provided it might be to Mr. *Throgmorton* alone; but he secretly plac'd People under the Window to hear what she said; and by this Threatning, Promise, and Contrivance, he gained a second Confession.

About this Time, the Spirits, as they said, taught them, but, in Truth, their own Folly led them to use a Charm to try them by; and tho' it was a desperate Snare to their own Lives, Mr. *Throgmorton* had that Power, that they made the poor Woman say it a hundred Times over, *I charge thee, thou Devil, as I love*

thee, and have Authority over thee, and am a Witch, and guilty of this Matter, that thou suffer this Child to be well at present. Upon the saying this, the Children would come out of their Fits; but this ought to have been of no Moment against the Persons; for the *Writer* of the *Narrative* owns, that the Children would come out of their Fits at many other silly Experiments; as carrying them abroad, or into the Church-yard, or even turning their Faces one way rather than another. In Probability they could either put themselves into their Fits, or come out when they would. And therefore it is observable, that, when any Times were set, that they should be free from their Fits till that Day, it was excepted, *unless Strangers came.* And if any Strangers did happen to come, then they never fail'd to have them. I think it appears sufficiently plain by that, both that the Children could manage their own Fits, and also took great Pleasure in making Strangers wonder.

Then this Matter happen'd very unfortunately to be tried before a Judge that was not experienced in these Matters. See but this one Passage at the Tryal of the old Man. He had made no Confession, but declar'd his Innocence, and yet the Judge told him—" That if he would
" not speak the Words of the Charm, the Court
" would hold him guilty of the Crimes he was
" accus'd of; and so at length, with much ado,
" the said *Samuel* with a loud Voice said in the
" hearing of all present,—*As I am a Witch,*
" *and did consent to the Death of the Lady*
" Cromwell,

" Cromwell, *ſo I charge thee, Devil, to ſuffer*
" *Mrs.* Jane *to come out of her Fits at this*
" *preſent.*——Upon this ſhe came out of her
" Fit. Then the Judge ſaid, You ſee all, ſhe
" is now well, but not by the Muſick of
" *David's* Harp, *&c.*

Upon theſe and ſuch like Evidences they were all three condemned. The old Woman, in hope to prevent Execution, pleaded, that ſhe was with Child. At that the Court burſt into a Laughter, for ſhe was near Fourſcore; and the ridiculous old Woman laught as faſt as they, ſo careleſs was ſhe grown of her Life. The Daughter ſeems to have been a young Woman of more than uſual Virtue. The greateſt Matter that they could ſay againſt her, that, I remember, was, that when they firſt came to apprehend her, ſhe hid her ſelf: And it was no wonder that ſhe was unwilling to come into their Hands, when ſhe knew by what Ways they had inveigled her Mother to Confeſſion. But they pulled her out of her hiding Place, and made her ſay the ſame Charms as her Mother had ſaid before; but notwithſtanding the Children's coming out of their Fits at her ſaying of it, ſhe ſtoutly maintained her Innocence from firſt to laſt; and at the Time of her Tryal ſhe ſhew'd a Piece of Virtue and Courage that many others would not; for ſome that ſtood by her, pitying her hard Caſe, perſwaded her to plead that ſhe was with Child: But ſhe ſaid, *No, ſhe never would do it; for it ſhould never be ſaid ſhe was both a Witch and a Whore.* The old Woman

Woman alſo clear'd her, and ſaid what ſhe could to have ſaved her, but they could neglect that Part of her Evidence as the Words of a lying, brainſick old Woman. And it ſeems to me, that from the Time that they intangled her with their Charms, and made her believe the Spirits obeyed her Words, ſhe was not of a ſound Mind; and one Night, about that Time, ſhe was overcome with Vapours and frightful Dreams, that it was thought that ſhe had as much of the Devil in her as the Children: And which was a manifeſt Sign of Vapours, her Belly was huffed up as big as a little Loaf. The Author of the Narrative indeed ſuppoſes, that it was then that the Devil got her with Child: But I think it is beyond Queſtion, both that he was a weak credulous Man for ſuppoſing ſuch a Thing, and that ſhe was really oppreſs'd with Vapours; for the ſwelling and moving of the Belly is one of the moſt conſtant Signs of them.

And therefore, I do not doubt, but I may cloſe this Caſe with the Judgment of Dr. *Harſnet*, afterwards Archbiſhop of *York*, who enquired narrowly into Caſes of this Nature, and wrote while the Thing was freſh, and he calls the Narrative of theſe Witches of *Warbois*, a ridiculous Book, and the Witchcraft only ſuppoſed. See the 93^{d} Page of his Detection of the fraudulent Practices of Mr. *Darrel*. Speaking in that of *Somers* the famous Counterfeit, that Mr. *Darrel* was thought to have diſpoſſeſs'd, he ſaith, " Moreover he had heard and read ſome " Part of a very ridiculous Book, concerning

" one

" one Mr. *Throgmorton*'s Children, (supposed
" to have been bewitch'd by a Woman of *Warbois*,) whereby he saith, that he, *i. e. Somers*, confessed, that he learn'd some new
" Points, and was not ignorant, as fit Occasion
" served, to ascribe what he list to Witches.

And the Narrative of this Case also is reprinted at large in the fore-mentioned compleat History of Witchcraft, *&c.* And as our common People are of themselves too forward in receiving such superstitious Notions, tho' they tend directly to the shedding Blood, I hope all good Men will agree with me, in thinking, that the more Infection is scatter'd abroad amongst the People by ill Authors, and covetous Booksellers, the more need is there of proper Assistances to help weak Minds, in judging of such dark, yet strong and bloody Delusions.

CHAP. VIII.

The Tryal before my Lord Chief Baron HALE.

Jur. PRAY let me put one Case more to you, it is that of *Amy Duny* and *Rose Cullender*, try'd and condemned by our late excellent Lord Chief Baron *Hale*. That one Case weighs more with me than all the rest. If you can give a fair Answer to that, it will make me wonderfully cautious in this Matter.

Clerg.

Clerg. I have as true an Honour and Reverence for that great and good Man as you have; but we muſt not ſo far forget the common Frailty of our humane Nature, as to think it ſtrange for a great Man to be once miſtaken. And ſince an Account of the Tryal of thoſe two poor Women was printed in his Lordſhip's Life-time, for an Appeal to the World, I will take the Liberty to make ſome Remarks upon it.

In the firſt Place, it ſeems to me, that there are ſeveral Signs of a great Zeal and Eagerneſs in the Proſecutors. They laid thirteen ſeveral Indictments againſt them. By that means they gave in Evidence of Things that had been ſaid and done long before, at diſtant Times and Places; and when they were laid together they ſupported one another, and made a greater Appearance of Guilt than they had at the ſeveral Times when they were done.

Notwithſtanding this, conſider how very few Things they could prove that were real Facts of the ſuppoſed Witch's doing. One ſingle Witneſs, *Dorothy Durent*, confeſſed of her ſelf that which was a more criminal Act of *Sorcery* than all that they could prove againſt the accus'd Parties. For of Facts, of their doing, I ſee little beſides giving a Child an empty Breaſt ſeven Years before to quiet it, and giving another a little Water, which is uſually done in Vapours; and by a Conſtruction that ſeems very unaccountable, they would make thoſe innocent Actions to be employing of Spirits, and working by the Devil; but the ſaid *Dorothy Durent*, having been

been with a Witch-Doctor, acknowledges upon Oath, that by his Advice ſhe hang'd up her Child's Blanket in the Chimney, found a Toad in it at Night, had put it into the Fire, and held it there tho' it made a great and horrible Noiſe, and flaſh'd like Gunpower, and went off like a Piſtol, and then became inviſible, and that by this the Priſoner was ſcorch'd and burn'd lamentably.

Now, I own I do not believe this Witneſs; for ſhe muſt be a ſilly looſe Woman, or ſhe would not have gone to the Witch-Doctor. Then her Teſtimony is not rational: She ſaith, ſhe believed her a Witch, and yet left her Child to be tended by her. She makes the Priſoner's giving the Child her empty Breaſt, to be both an uſual Way to quiet a Child, and yet to be alſo an Act of Witchcraft. She ſaith the Priſoner was very much ſcorch'd and burnt with Fire; and yet no Scars or Signs of burning were ſhewn, tho' Fire-Scars, where real, do not ſoon wear out; and therefore I believe ſhe was a lying old Woman. But ſuppoſe it literally true as ſhe ſaith, and what follows? Why the only ſure Concluſion is, that ſhe charged her ſelf with real Sorcery in all its ſeveral Steps and Gradations. She firſt departed from God by forſaking his Way of Prayer and natural Means, and leaving the Event to his Providence. She employed the Devil by the Uſe of a Charm, which ſhe knew could have no Effect without the Devil's Help. After ſhe found a Toad in the Child's Blanket, which could not get into it in the Chimney but by the ſame Power,

Power, as Witches uſe to roaſt the Repreſentation of the Party to be afflicted, ſo ſhe burnt the Toad, and if there be any Truth in her Words, afflicted this *Roſe Cullender* the Priſoner by that Act of hers. And what Judgment can be made of this Matter? Why firſt, take it in the hardeſt Senſe againſt the Priſoner, and imagine, that by ſome prior Acts of Sorcery ſhe had made her ſelf ſubject to this Power of the Devil, yet both are guilty within the Statute, and are but two Witches trying to perſecute one another.

Olaus Magnus, and the Jeſuit *Delrio*, and *Shefferius*, and others that are deep in the Belief of theſe dark Notions, give us Relations of eminent Magicians that had great Conteſts with one another, and uſed Charm againſt Charm, and Spirit againſt Spirit, till the leſs potent Conjurer was ſubdued or killed by the more powerful. And therefore, if we ſuppoſe Sorcery in this Caſe before us, we have but Witch againſt Witch, both employing Spirits, and therefore both to be puniſh'd; for the Law is not partial, but puniſhes all equal Facts where-ever it finds them. Our Statute forbids all Manner of Uſe and Exerciſe of any Sorcery or Charm for employing Spirits, and puniſhes the guilty Perſon with Death if they do Harm to Man or Beaſt, and with Impriſonment and Pillory, tho' their Charms have no effect. And therefore as upon this firſt Suppoſition they both ſtand Guilty, they are both in Danger, according as they ſhall meet with Judges and Juries that will be partial or impartial in the Execution of that Statute. But

But this is the hardest Sense that can be put upon the Prisoner's Case, and the true State of it is much better on her Side. For here are Charms and Sorcery on one hand, and nothing on the other. For this *Rose Cullender*, at the Time when this Sorcery was used against her, was unconvicted, unaccused, under the Protection of the Law, and, I doubt not, was an innocent Woman: For her being afflicted by this Witness's Sorcery, was no Proof of her Guilt, even tho' the Fact was true; for we have a Thousand Stories which teach us, that innocent Persons may be afflicted, even sucking Children in their Mother's Arms.

Jur. If your way of arguing be right, our common Practice hath been sadly wrong and partial; for a great many People make such like Things their usual Trade; and I believe there are few Discoveries without it. But do you think your Argument will abide the Test: For this Witness did not hang up the Blanket in the Chimney with design to make her self a Witch, but only to discover one that she suspected.

Clerg. But how, and by whom, and by what did she try to make the Discovery? She tried to discover by a Charm and Sorcery; for the Blanket in the Chimney was not a common Act, but designed for a Spell or Call to a Spirit: And therefore she tried to discover the Witch, by employing the Devil to afflict another, and by that to let her know whether that other was a Witch. And is not this a hopeful Evidence, and fit to be laid before a Christian Court of Justice? Had

this

this wiſe Witneſs another Charm to cure the Devil of his double Dealings, and hold him ſo faſt by the Ears, that he ſhould only have Power to burn *Roſe Cullender*, but not to deceive her ſelf by any juggling Deluſion ? This doth not appear very evident. But as it is plain, that ſhe uſed a Charm and Sorcery, and tried to employ a Spirit ; it is as plain, that at leaſt ſhe ſhould have been ſet in the Pillory, as part of the Puniſhment that the Act of Parliament appoints for thoſe evil Practices.

If this juſt Conſtruction of the Statute had been turned upon this firſt Witneſs, I doubt not but it would have made the reſt more careful in their following Teſtimonies ; but as the Tryal went forward, I ſhall take Leave to proceed in its Examination.

Mr. *Pacy*, the next Witneſs, depos'd, That *Amy Duny* ; and *Edmund Durent* depos'd, That *Roſe Cullender* came to their Houſes to have bought *Herrings* ; and being deny'd, they went away diſcontented and murmuring. And had they not very juſt Reaſon to find fault, when they whoſe Employment it was to ſell ſuch Things, denied them Meat for their Money ? For if others ſhould be ſo diſtruſtful of God, and unjuſt, and ſuperſtitious, they muſt of Neceſſity have periſhed for want of Food. And if it be really true, that the Devil gets an Advantage at ſuch a Time to do Miſchief to their Children or Cattle, I ask you, or any Man to tell me, how that proves Witchcraft in the Perſon ſuſpected ? It hath a great Appearance of a Divine

vine Providence and Permiſſion, juſtly puniſhing ill Uſage of the Poor, and Superſtition; but it is no Proof that the poor Women were Witches; for all that they did was, complaining, where they had the higheſt Reaſon in the World to find fault. And I may add farther, that if we do allow ſuch a Caſe to be a ſufficient Proof of Witchcraft, unleſs God interpoſes by Miracle to prevent it, we give the Devil Opportunity of making any of us ſuffer as Witches or Wizzards, whenever we fall out with our Neighbours; for if he, by the eaſy Uſe of his natural Skill, doth an Ill-turn at ſuch a Time, we muſt be thought guilty of employing him to do it.

Adv. Againſt *Amy Duny* it is ſworn, That ſhe ſaid once, *That the Devil would not let her reſt till ſhe were reveng'd on* Cornelius Sandwell'*s Wife.*

Clerg. This I reckon a Saying miſunderſtood, and perverted. For what had ſhe done, or what did ſhe ever do againſt that Woman? She had told her, That if ſhe did not fetch home her Geeſe, they would be deſtroyed; and in a few Days it proved ſo. Then being a Tenant to her Husband, ſhe told him, (as this Woman ſaith) That if he did not take Care of ſuch a Chimney in her Houſe, it would fall; and he took no Care, and it did fall, though a new one. And they went ſeven or eight Years backward for ſuch trifling Stories, that were nothing but good Advice, of which they would make very wicked Uſe. Then this ſame zealous Woman

L added,

added, That a Brother of hers had ſent her a Firkin of Fiſh for a Preſent; but when ſhe went to fetch it, the Seamen told her, That they believed the Devil was in it; for it leap'd into the Sea, and was gone. This I count to be only a Banter of the Seamen; and ſince none of the Seamen that had ſeen it, were there to give it upon Oath, but only this ſilly Woman ſwore that they told her ſo; I doubt not but they had eaten her Fiſh, and then laugh'd at her for being contented with ſuch an Anſwer. Carriers would have a fine Time, if others would be ſatisfy'd as eaſily; but in Teſtimonies againſt Witches there is nothing too trifling.

Then pray obſerve *John Soam*'s Evidence, and learn by that, whether I have ſpoken this laſt Word without Reaſon. He depoſed, That he had three Carts to carry Corn. One of them wrench'd *Amy Duny*'s Houſe, upon which ſhe came out in a Rage, and threatned. He doth not tell what terrible Words ſhe uſed; and therefore we may believe, he called *Scolding* Threatning; and being ſhe had a real Damage, *Scolding* could be no mighty Fault in her. But he ſays, that Cart was overturn'd twice or thrice that Day. And I ask, Is it not likely there was either a jadiſh *Horſe*, or a ſilly *Driver* that belong'd to that Cart? For before the poor Woman had ſpoken to them, that Cart could not keep the Road, but ran againſt her Houſe. And without any Witchcraft, might not the ſame jadiſh Horſe or bad Driver make it go wrong afterward as well as before? But this Witneſs

adds,

adds, that that Cart was ſet faſt in a Gate-head, though it did not touch the Poſts, that they could perceive. But if it did not touch the Poſts, What made them cut the Poſt down ? Will cutting down a Poſt that is not touch'd, diſſolve a Charm ? But they make themſelves ridiculous, that they might lay Blame upon the poor Woman. Then farther, this ſame Witneſs ſwears, That at the laſt Load at Night, the Men were weary, and could not unload that Cart. But in a Caſe of Blood, would this bold Man venture to take his Oath, That after the Harveſt-Labour of a long Summer's Day, Men could not be weary without Witchcraft ? Or, might they not ſay they were more weary than they were, becauſe they had a mind to leave off, perhaps, for ſome other Reaſon that he knew not of? And if a Man's Noſe bleed in the Harveſt, might not Heat and Labour cauſe that without a Devil ? And that this Cart was not bewitch'd, they might more rationally have concluded from this, That the next Morning, when the Men had a Mind to it, that Cart was unloaded as eaſily as the other.

Adv. Is it not plain, that *Amy Duny* foretold the Children's Fits, with that odd Circumſtance, that their Mouths ſhould be ſo clos'd, that they ſhould take their Breath through Taps ? Could ſhe have foreſeen the very Circumſtance of *Taps*, if the Devil had not been her Informer ?

Clerg. By that one Particular, you may ſee ſo much wrong and imprudent Management of

the Children, as may juſtly incline you to give the leſs Credit to all the reſt. And, firſt, Hear the Words of this poor Woman. She was ſet in the *Stocks* by Mr. *Pacy*, though the *Stocks* is not the legal Puniſhment for Witchcraft. There the People came about her, and askt her the Reaſon of the Childrens Illneſs, and charge her with it. She reply'd, *Mr.* Pacy *keeps a great Stir about his Child; but let him ſtay until he hath done as much by his Children, as I have done by mine.* Now take this without wreſting her Words, and the Meaning muſt needs be: Why ſhould Mr. *Pacy* make ſuch a Wonder at his Child having Fits? My own Child hath been a great deal worſe, and yet no Body thought mine bewitch'd, much leſs that I bewitch'd it. Then they ask'd, How her Child had been? And ſhe anſwer'd, That ſhe had been fain to open her Child's Mouth with a Tap to give it Victuals. And the natural Conſequence is, That if Mr. *Pacy*'s ſhould be as ill, he would have no more Reaſon to think it bewitch'd, than ſhe had to think that hers was. Conſider, Mr. *Advocate*, Whether any other Senſe can fairly be put upon her Words, that were perverted into a Threatning.

Adv. But in two Days one of the Children had ſuch a Fit, that a *Tap* was actually put into the Mouth, that they might give her Breath to preſerve Life; and ſoon after the other alſo.

Clerg. But who put thoſe Taps into their Mouths? Did any inviſible Agents, in a ſupernatural Way? Did *Amy Duny*'s Imp ſtick them

in,

in, when no Body elſe touch'd them? No, the People themſelves put them in; and did it when they had no manner of need. For if their Mouths had been as faſt cloſed as they would have us imagine, Breath through their Noſtrils would have kept them from any harm. Or if they would needs have them breathe through their Mouths, Why did they do it by *Taps*, rather than by any thing elſe? Why not by a Quill, a Pipe, or any thing elſe that would have given Breath enough in a Fit, when, perhaps, very little Breath is wanted. Had the Devil laid all Things out of the way ſave Taps? If not, what made them voluntarily chuſe to lay the Children in ſuch a ridiculous Poſture, with Taps ſticking out of their Mouths, when they might either have put in any thing elſe, or have left them without any thing as ſafely? It ſeems very plain to me, That as before they had perverted the poor Woman's Words, they did this to make an Appearance of fulfilling them. And when ſilly People ſaw two ſick Children lie with *Taps* in their Mouths, they thought that was ſuch a Miracle as plainly proved the Witchcrafts, tho' the Taps were only put into the Children's Mouths by their own ſelves, when there was no Occaſion for doing it.

Adv. They might the more eaſily give Credit to Things that were ſworn out of Court, becauſe they ſaw ſo much in Court before them. For in open Court my Lord Chief Baron had one of Mr. *Pacy*'s Daughters hood-winked, and tried by one of the ſuppoſed Witches, and the Child

flew into a Rage at the Touch, tho' her Face was cover'd.

Clerg. I would anſwer this with all due Reſpect and Submiſſion; but I think I have fully proved, that this is not a lawful Tryal; for if there be a Devil in the Caſe, it is a giving him Opportunity to perform his known Work of falſe Accuſation; or at leaſt, it is a making uſe of his Teſtimony. But at this Time the Experiment fell out ſo as to clear the Priſoners; for when my Lord Chief Baron deſir'd the Lord *Cornwallis*, Sir *Edmund Bacon*, and Mr. Serjeant *Keeling*, to try that Experiment in another Place, the Girl flew into the ſame Rage at the Touch of another Perſon: And therefore thoſe Gentlemen came in and declar'd, that they believ'd it a mere Impoſture. One would have thought that that ſhould have put an effectual Stop to any farther Proceeding upon ſuch dark Probabilities: And it did for a good while; but at length Mr. *Pacy*, who ſhould only have been Witneſs, turn'd *Advocate*; and ſaid in more Words, but to this Purpoſe: That it was poſſible that the Afflicted might be deceiv'd, if they tried them with a wrong Perſon; for he had obſerv'd, that they had their Underſtanding. And of all Things, I wonder how this happen'd to ſatisfy the Court; for it certainly makes againſt the Suppoſition of Witchcraft: For if they had their Underſtanding in their Fits, it was the more likely, that what they did was their own Act, and proceeded not from the *Devil*, who would not have been impoſed upon by a falſe Perſon, but

but from their own Fears, and Fancies, or Designs.

Adv. Sir *Thomas Brown* of *Norwich*, the famous Physician of his Time, was in Court, and was desired by my Lord Chief Baron to give his Judgment in the Case: And he declared, *That he was clearly of Opinion, that the Fits were natural, but heigten'd by the Devil, co-operating with the Malice of the Witches, at whose Instance he did the Villanies.* And he added, That in *Denmark* there had been lately a great Discovery of *Witches*, who used the very same way of afflicting Persons, by conveying Pins into them.

Cler. This Declaration of Sir *Thomas Brown*'s, could not but much influence the Jury; and I count it turned back the Scale, that was otherwise inclining to the Favour of the accused Persons. And with Submission, I think it should not have been said: For this was a Case of Blood, and surely the King's Subjects ought not to lose their Lives upon the Credit of Books from *Denmark*. Besides, this was an Indictment upon a Crime, concerning which it is a very hard Question, Whether ever any one single Person was guilty of it, as it stood there charg'd. There were as many probable Signs of it in this Case, as had ever been in any; the Witnesses, the afflicted Parties, the suppos'd Witches, and very much of the Fact, were all before them. The Eyes of all curious Persons were upon this famous Court, in hope of a Decision that might have put the Matter beyond Controversy; but

instead of this, we meet with a vehement Prosecution, and a perplex'd Case. Some declare their Opinions one way, and some another. The Judge puts it off from himself as much as he can, and desires Sir *Thomas Brown*'s Opinion; which very Request supposes much Difficulty and Uncertainty. Sir *Thomas* decides the Case, not with the Addition of any Argument, but with the Authority of some Books from *Denmark*. Now this leaves us as far from Satisfaction as we were; for those Books from *Denmark* cannot be a sufficient Warrant for so great a Judgment. Perhaps these Tryals in *Denmark* were in a superstitious Time, and before a Judge that had not been used to those Cases. Perhaps afterward, when they had Time to consider what they had done, they might be as much concern'd as they were for such Mistakes in *New-England*. And if those *Danish* Witches were the Four that were burnt at *Koge* two Years before that Time, I must add, that the Case hath been answered since by *Bekker*; and tho' all the Notions in his Books are far from being right, yet as far as I can judge by his Abridgment of that Case, it seems to have been a very rash Prosecution, and an injudicious Sentence.

Adv. But what did my Lord Chief Baron add beside his desire to Sir *Thomas Brown* to give his Judgment? And how came he to be satisfy'd so far as to condemn them?

Clerg. There was the *Spectre* Evidence, and *Pins*, and *Nails*; and if the Witnesses spake

Truth,

Truth, there was a Diabolical Interposition in some of the Facts; and this makes such an Appearance of fixing the Guilt upon the Persons accus'd, as few have seen thorough it, till they have had much Experience of its Mischief; and seldom till they have found those kind of Proofs used against their own Relations, or Persons of the better Rank, whom they knew to be Innocent.

This made that great and good Man doubtful; but he was in such Fears, and proceeded with such Caution, that he would not so much as sum up the Evidence, but left it to the *Jury*, with Prayers, *That the great God of Heaven would direct their Hearts in that weighty Matter.*

But Country People are wonderfully bent to make the most of all Stories of Witchcraft; and having Sir *Thomas Brown*'s Declaration about *Denmark* for their Encouragement, in half an Hour they brought them in *Guilty* upon all the Thirteen several Indictments.

After this my Lord Chief Baron gave the Law its Course, and they were condemn'd, and died, declaring their Innocence. And for my part, I cannot but believe their dying Words, and the strong Arguments of their Side, rather than the Presumptions and conjectural Proofs that there were against them. I am much of the same Mind with the Gentlemen and Serjeant *Keeling*, who was afterward Lord Chief Justice, and whose Judgment I cannot count inferior to Sir *Thomas Brown's*; and with the Alteration of a Word or two, I will conclude this Case with his Opinion,

nion, which he declared plainly in open Court. Said he, *Admitting that the Children were in Truth bewitch'd*, (I would rather ſay, Admitting that there was an Interpoſition of inviſible Agents) *Yet it could never be applied to the Priſoners, upon the Imagination only of the Parties afflicted: For if that might be allow'd, no Perſon whatſoever could be in Safety; for, perhaps, they might fancy another Perſon, who might be altogether innocent in ſuch Matters.*

Adv. After this Anſwer to the Depoſitions, upon which ſhe was convicted, perhaps you will think it hard that I ſhould add any following Arguments; for if the foregoing do not juſtify the Verdict, Facts which came after may be thought leſs proper; but immediately after the accuſed Parties were found guilty, the three Children of Mr. *Pacy* were perfectly well of their Fits, and were reſtored to their Speech; and *Dorothy Durent*, who had gone three Years upon Crutches, was reſtored to the Uſe of her Limbs, laid her Crutches aſide, and went home without them; and as at that Time this ſatisfy'd many that both Proceedings and Verdict had been juſt, Why may we not now make the ſame Concluſion?

Clerg. In Reply to this, I ask you, if it be really true that the Judgment of Law and Authority hath this ſupernatural Effect in this Caſe above all others, what was the Reaſon why the Effect was partial, and cured *only* ſome of the Afflicted, but not others? Why did *Suſan Chandler*

ler ſtill look very thin and wan, and feel a Pricking like Pins in her Stomach? I ask you beſides, Whether this Recovery of Perſons after the Witches Conviction, ſhall be laid down as a Teſt that hath ſuch Conſtancy in it, that you will abide by it in other Caſes? I ſhall be glad to find one Maxim that you will keep to; for I intimated before, That one great Objection which I had againſt the common Scheme of vulgar Witchcraft, was, becauſe I could meet with no Rules of Probation that were ſcriptural, or rational, or natural, and ſteady; but I found all Things incoherent, confuſed, and in different Places, and under different Religions and Laws, perfectly contrary, and contradicting one another: But if you will lay this down as a ſurer and truer Teſt; I ask you, Whether you will abide by it; and if I allow you, that the afflicted Perſon's Recovery after Condemnation ſhall be taken for a fair Proof of the Guilt of the accuſed; Will you on the other hand allow, that their continuing to be afflicted ſhall be taken as a Proof of their Innocence? Will you *clear*, as well as *condemn* by this Maxim?

Adv. No; I doubt the Effects are not ſo regular and conſtant as to allow of that.

Clerg. And will you call that a fair Teſt, which will only hang when it hits, and not ſave when it miſſes? That is as hard upon the poor Creatures; as *Croſs, I win*; *Pyle, you loſe*: And yet that is the Meaſure that they have meeted to them. In this Tryal, *Amy Duny* and *Roſe Cullender* were hang'd, becauſe ſome of the

the Persons recover'd. *Jane Wenham*'s Prosecutors in *Hertfordshire* would have had her hang'd, because both the afflicted Parties continued in a miserable Case, and even after Condemnation of the supposed Witch, were pursued by Cats with Faces in her Likeness. At *Mohra* in *Sweden*, the more Witches they hang'd, the more they had; and the Case was the same here in *Suffolk* in the Year 1644, 1645. In *New-England* the Afflicted would seem cured at the very Moment that the Magistrates had commanded the suppos'd Witches to be put in Chains; and yet their Pains and Fits never fail'd to return as often as they wanted them to carry on the Process, or accuse new Persons. When a Jury at *Salem*, upon the 30th of *June* 1692, brought in their Verdict, That *Rebecca Nurse* was not Guilty, immediately all the Accusers made a hideous Outcry, as if they were undone, and and Wrong done to them: And yet when that poor Woman was hang'd, by reason of the Juries regarding their Outcry, and changing their Verdict, those afflicted Accusers continued to have their Fits, and caused above twenty more to be condemn'd after this *Rebecca Nurse*. See the Case in *New-England*, in Mr. *Calef*.

And here at *Bury*, if the Accusers had any more Work to do, I doubt not but their Fits would have been with them whenever their own Minds and Imaginations thought them wanted. Not *Pins* and *Nails* it may be; those Symptoms never happen'd in *Court*, or in *Bury*, but in other private Corners in the Country; but Fits and

Crutches

Crutches would have return'd, if they had been needful. But in this ſtrange Place, ſo far from home, they had no more old Women to accuſe, or be afraid of: Beſides, they had found their Victory very hard to be gain'd, and knew many worthy Gentlemen even then declar'd, that they believ'd them Impoſtors: And therefore they had had enough; and as their ſeeming to be well, prevented all farther Experiments, and ſecur'd their Victory, they turn'd their Minds, and exerted their Powers that way; and *Dorothy Durent* made ſhift to lay aſide her Crutches, and walk without them: And I doubt not but ſhe could have laid them aſide ſooner if ſhe had thought fit; for as ſhe was a looſe Woman, and began this Tragedy, by her pretending to go to the Devil to cure her Child, ſhe was the leading Witneſs in it; and I have a ſtrong Suſpicion, that by this and her Crutches, ſhe liv'd at Eaſe, and found Maintenance and Favour.

If I am miſtaken in this Conjecture; and if it be true, that theſe People did not ſlander the Devil, but that the whole Tragedy was a Plot of his acting, it doth not make the Judgment againſt the Priſoners more ſure to be right; for his afflicting, or not afflicting, muſt be Teſts as deceitful as the Father of Lies can make them. See Mr. *Mather*'s Experiments betwixt our *Common-Prayer-Book* and his Grandfather's *Milk for Babes*, in the Caſe of *New-England*, Chap. 5.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

RICHARD DUGDALE: *Or, The Impostor at* Surrey *in* Lancashire.

Adv. WHAT do you say to the *Surrey* Dæmoniac, which the Author of *The Compleat History of Witchcraft* hath printed the last in his Second Volume, with above twenty Depositions, before two Justices of Peace, taken in the Year 1695?

Clerg. Why take this Case as this scandalous Author leaves it, with telling only one side, yet there is enough to shew the Wisdom of our Canon, and make us have a Care of being too forward in trying to cast out Devils. But this Case was well answer'd by Mr. *Zach. Taylor*, Minister of *Wigan*; and if this Author had been honest, and added the Discoveries that Mr. *Taylor* made, the Knavery of the Dæmoniac would have been plain. And as this Piece of History hath been famous with *Narrative*, and *Answer*, and *Reply*, and *Rejoinder* and *Refutation*; I will lay it briefly before you.

And we may consider it first in that View, which, tho' tried to be hid, yet is visible, even in this Author.

Here is a young Man, about twenty Years old, is said to have given his Soul to the Devil, that he might be the best *Dancer* in *Lancashire*; but instead of dancing in the way he hop'd to have

have done, he seems to be *possess'd*. He stands upon his Head, dances upon his Knees, an runs on all Four like a Dog, and barks. He seems sometimes extreme heavy, and at other Times light; hath a Swelling run from the Calf of his Leg up to his Neck; he talks Shreads of *Latin*, ran into the Water, and told Things at a Distance, and was thought to be possess'd with a merry, ludicrous Spirit.

His Father finding that the Clergy of our Church were not forward to believe him possessed, or to meddle in the Case, applied himself to the Presbyterians; and their Ministers, with some Reproaches of ours, for being like the uncharitable Priest and *Levite* in the Gospel, would act the Part of the good *Samaritan*, and appointed Days of Fasting and Prayer for the young Man's Help, and continued them Weekly for a Year. Five or six of their Ministers were there at a Time, and all the Country flock'd in to see and hear them. At first they admired them; but after some Time, they began to make themselves merry with them, and both the Parents and young Man affronted them, and told them they did him no Good. The Ministers fell off by degrees, till there was but one that would come; and at last, at the end of the Year, that one left off also. And as they could not forbear making some Excuse to cover the Shame of their Disappointment, they made the most disingenuous and silly one that could be. They gave it out, That they believed the Family of these *Dugdale*'s to be Witches, and in Contract

with

with the Devil; and that that had been the Cause why they had not been able to help them. They procur'd some of them to be search'd, that they might see if they they had not Teats, or the Devil's Marks, and they tried them by the Experiment of saying the Lord's Prayer. And if their Insinuations would have done it, they had set the Rabble upon them, and made them undergo the rest of their barbarous Tryals.

And let any one now consider what these *Dugdales* got by going to these Nonconformists for their Assistance? They applied themselves to them out of Respect, believing them to be powerful in such Cases; and after the failing of the Experiment, they are slandered themselves as Witches, and search'd, and put under ungodly Tryals. And who after this will either believe that this was a true Possession, or that *Presbyterians* are fitter than others to be sought to for their Help in such Cases.

Adv. But if this was the Conclusion of their Meetings, How come the Dissenters now to claim the Honour of the Cure? For these Depositions, which the Author of *The Compleat History of Witchcraft*, &c. hath reprinted, are to prove both the Reality of the Possession, and the Success of their Prayers. But how could they pretend to that, if their publick Meetings ended as you say?

Clerg. Why that is a Difficulty that would have been hard to have been got over by us; but it seems it did not prove hard to them; for the Case as it followed, as I find by their other Books, was thus.

The pretended Dæmoniac had some few Fits of his Distemper after they left him. Of his Prophesying, or telling Things at a Distance, *&c.* I find nothing; but *Fits* he had; and some honest Gentlemen of the Church of *England* gave him some Money in Charity, that he might go to some sober Physician, and he went to one Dr. *Chew*, and never had a Fit after his Physick, tho' he had a severe one the Day before. But besides this, the Dissenters say, That *privately* they had continued to fast and pray for him; and five Years after, they gathered up the Depositions that this Author hath now reprinted, and pretend that their private Prayers cured the Man. And if they have Confidence to defend this in Print, and their Admirers will believe them, who can hinder their Folly?

This lies visible to be seen from the Story, even as the Dissenters themselves printed, and this unfair Author reprinted it: But Mr. *Taylor*, in his *Surrey Imposture*, and Defences of it, shews plainly the Dæmoniac's Knavery, and their Unfairness in gathering their Depositions.

He shews by other Depositions, that the Boy was given to such Tricks when he was at School. He discover'd, that his Sister whispered to him at a Hole in the Barn, where he us'd to pretend that he talk'd with a Spirit. And what more likely? For if the Spirit was within him, What occasion had he to go so often to that Hole to whisper? Besides he discover'd plainly, that some *Popish* Priests had the secret Management of him; and that the Dæmoniac, in his Fits, nam'd

three that would be likely to cure him. Insomuch that the Nonconformists themselves are forced to come off with this poor Pretence, " That " the Devil had more mind to have let the Po- " pish Priests have had the Credit of casting him " out, because his Ends would be better serv'd " by Popery than by them.

To make their Folly sufficiently evident to sensible Men, I will give you one Sample of the Dialogue these Dissenters held with the supposed Spirit. See *Surrey* Dæmoniac, *Page* 33. " *What Satan!* Is this the Dancing that *Richard* gave " himself to thee for, *&c.*? Can'st thou Dance " no better, *&c.*? Ransack the old Records of " all past Times and Places in thy Memory: " Can'st thou not there find out some better " way of Trampling? Pump thine Invention " dry; Cannot that universal Seed plot of subtile " Wiles and Stratagems, spring up one new " Method of Cutting Capers? Is this the top " of Skill and Pride, to shuffle Feet, and bran- " dish Knees thus, and to trip like a Doe, and " skip like a Squirrel? And wherein differs thy " Leapings from the Hoppings of a Frog, or " Bouncings of a Goat, or Friskings of a Dog, " or Gesticulations of a Monkey? And cannot " a Palsy shake such a loose Leg as that? Dost " thou not twirl like a Calf that hath the Turn, " and twitch up thy Houghs just like a Spring- " hault Tit?

What wonder was it that the Members of our Church laugh'd at them, and threatned to prosecute them, and that they grew weary, and left off?

off? But then to gather up incoherent Depositions from credulous People five Years after, and impute the Cure to their Prayers in private, is too gross an Imposition to pass upon any but their own deluded Followers.

And to all this I must add, That this *Richard Dugdale*, the supposed Dæmoniac, upon Examination, declar'd, That he believed he never had any evil Spirit in him.

This Author therefore of *The Compleat History*, &c. pass'd over these Things, tho' they lay plain before him; but what he deserves for poisoning the Minds of Men with false Facts in such a high and tender Point, I leave to the Reader to make a Judgment.

CHAP. X.

The Case of Jane Wenham *in* HERTFORDSHIRE.

Adv. YOU needed not to have been so severe upon the Dissenters in your last Case; for in the famous Tryal of *Jane Wenham*, of *Walkern*, in the Year 1712, some of your own Clergy were as deep in these Notions, even as *Hopkins* himself, that hang'd Witches by Dozens.

Clerg. I am sorry I cannot say that the Case is otherwise; but since it is as it is, I hope it will make us learn from it, That it is not the Orthodoxy and Excellency of our Church in general,

that will keep the Salt from losing its Savour in Particulars, but Wisdom and good Learning. *Papists* may trust to Authority, Promises of Infallibility, Succession of Orders without Breach or Interruption; and as they glory in being Catholic Priests, they may fancy they have nothing to do but to take Care to inform themselves rightly how such Doctrines stand at *Rome*; but in *England*, if we would keep our selves free from such Superstitions, and have our Lips preserve Knowledge, we must take care to furnish our Minds with sound Knowledge of all sorts, that may help us in making a true Judgment of all Cases that may fall in our way: And as that is a thing of such Variety and Difficulty, as to require a long Life's Labour, I hope such an Accident as this that befel some few Clergymen, that are otherwise Men of Reputation, will encrease our Diligence in our Studies of all Kinds.

Adv. I shall forbear their Names, as you did ours; but they either did themselves, or suffered others that were about them, to scratch and tear her Face, and run Pins into her Flesh. They set the Bottle and Urine, and turn'd the Lord's-Prayer into a Charm. Notwithstanding the Experience of *New-England*, they trusted to the Spectre Evidence. They drave her to such Distraction, that by leading Questions, they drew from her what they call'd a Confession. They had her to Goal: The Witnesses swore to Vomiting Pins, &c. The Jury found her Guilty, the Judge condemn'd her, and those Clergymen wrote a Narrative of the Tryal, which was receiv'd

ceiv'd and read with ſuch Pleaſure, that in a Month's Time it had a Fourth Edition.

Clerg. And yet the Tryal being before a Judge of Learning and Experience, he valu'd not thoſe Tricks and Tryals ; and tho' he was forc'd to condemn her, becauſe a ſilly Jury would find her Guilty, he ſav'd her Life. And that ſhe might not afterward be torn to Pieces by an ignorant Town, a ſenſible Gentleman, who will for ever be in Honour for what he did, Colonel *Plummer* of *Gilſton* in the ſame County, took her into his Protection, plac'd her in a little Houſe near his own, where ſhe now lives ſoberly and inoffenſively, and keeps her Church ; and the whole Country is now fully convinc'd that ſhe was innocent.

I will take leave to add, That as I have had the Curioſity to ſee the good Woman her ſelf, I have very great Aſſurance that ſhe is a pious ſober Woman. She is ſo far from being unable to ſay the *Lord's-Prayer*, that ſhe would make me hear her ſay both *Lord's-Prayer* and *Creed*, and other very good Prayers beſides ; and ſhe ſpake them with an undiſſembled Devotion, tho' with ſuch little Errors of Expreſſion, as thoſe that cannot read are ſubject to. I verily believe, that there is no one that reads this, but may think in their own Minds, that ſuch a Storm as ſhe met with, might have fallen upon them, if it had been their Misfortune to have been poor, and to have met with ſuch Accidents as ſhe did, in ſuch a barbarous Pariſh as ſhe liv'd in.

If any of the Proſecutors think that I expreſs this Caſe with too much Severity; before they find fault, I deſire them to anſwer theſe Queries. I put them particularly to thoſe of the Clergy who bore their Part in the Proſecution, and are ſtill living; for the moſt vehement Writer, who preſs'd her moſt ſeverely with his Pen, is gone into the other World before her.

1. What ſingle Fact of *Sorcery* did this *Jane Wenham* do? What Charm did ſhe uſe, or what Act of Witchcraft could you prove upon her? Laws are againſt evil Actions, that can be prov'd to be of the Perſon's doing; What ſingle Fact that was againſt the Statute could you fix upon her?

I ask, 2. Did ſhe ſo much as ſpeak an imprudent Word, or do an immoral Action, that you could put into the Narrative of her Caſe? When ſhe was denied a few Turnips, ſhe laid them down very ſubmiſſively. When ſhe was call'd *Witch* and *Bitch*, ſhe only took the proper Means for the Vindication of her good Name. When ſhe ſaw this Storm coming upon her, ſhe lock'd her ſelf in her own Houſe, and tried to keep her ſelf out of your cruel Hands. When her Door was broken open, and you gave way to that barbarous Uſage that ſhe met with, ſhe proteſted her Innocence, fell upon her Knees, and begg'd ſhe might not go to Goal; and in her innocent Simplicity, would have let you ſwim her; and at her Tryal, ſhe declar'd her ſelf a clear Woman. This was her Behaviour, and what could any of us have done better, except-

ing

ing in that Caſe where ſhe comply'd with you too much, and offered to let you ſwim her.

3. When you uſed the meaneſt of Paganiſh and Popiſh Superſtitions; when you ſcratch'd and mangled, and ran Pins into her Fleſh, and uſed that ridiculous Tryal of the Bottle and Urine; Who did you conſult? And from whom did you expect your Anſwers? Who was your Father, and into whoſe Hands did you put your ſelves? And if the true Senſe of the Statute had been turn'd upon you, Which way would you have defended your ſelves?

4. Durſt you have uſed her in this manner, if ſhe had been rich; and doth not her Poverty increaſe, rather than leſſen your Guilt in what you did?

And therefore, inſtead of cloſing your Book with a *Liberavimus Animas Noſtras*, and reflecting upon the Court, I ask you, 5. Whether you have not more Reaſon to give God Thanks that you met with a wiſe Judge, and a ſenſible Gentleman, who kept you from ſhedding innocent Blood, and reviving the meaneſt and cruelleſt of all Superſtitions amongſt us?

That you may ſee what ill Effect ſuch Notions would have, and what Diſgrace they would bring upon our Nation, if they were again to prevail, I will give you an Inſtance of the Opinion which the Poor *Indians* in *America* had of the *Independent Engliſh* in *New-England*, upon account of their Notions in this Reſpect. It ſeems in *Saco-Font*, the *French* came after the *Engliſh*; and Captain *Hill* gave the following

Account of what he had heard there. See a Certificate of it in the 25th Page of Mr. *Calef*'s *More Wonders of the Invisible World.* An *Indian* told him, *That the* French *Ministers were better than the* English; *for before the* French *came among them, there were a great many Witches among the* Indians, *but now there were none; And there were much Witches among the* English *Ministers, as* Burroughs *who was hang'd for it.*

This Honour and Benefit which the *French* Nation found so far off as *India*, I doubt not, was owing to that wise Edict which I mentioned in my Chronological Table 1672, which the *French* King put out in that Year for regulating their Tryals about Witchcraft, after he had pardoned all the Persons condemned, and ordered a general Goal-Delivery.

But that this honest *Indian*'s Judgment, which was occasioned only by the Mis-conduct of *New-England*, may not reflect upon our Nation in general, I will take leave to add, That I believe our Nation was one of the first that purg'd it self from these deep Superstitions. For as it is always observ'd, that these Notions fly away at the Appearance of Learning and Knowledge; and as our Nation was perhaps the very first in modern Improvements of natural and Experimental Philosophy, so I believe it was one of the first in gaining and spreading true Judgment in this Matter before us.

And here I will take leave to repeat some few of my Chronological Facts, by making a little Table of these by themselves. About

About the Year 1652, the *Royal Society* for improving the Knowledge of Nature and Art, had its Beginnings at *Oxford*, in the Chambers of the learned Biſhop *Wilkins*; and in 1658, removed to *Greſham*-College.

In the auſpicious Year 1660, when our Religion and Government were happily reſtor'd, the *Royal Society* was incorporated, and King *Charles* II. did it the Honour to be its Head and Patron, and the Principal Nobility were Members of it.

1664. They began to publiſh their Tranſactions, which ſpread uſeful Knowledge through the Nation.

1665. There was an Execution of Witches, but I count it the laſt but one that we have had in *England*.

1666. The *French* began their Academy of Sciences.

1672. As ſoon as their Academy, and other Helps of Knowledge, had ſpread Learning amongſt them, the *French* King's Edict abovemention'd, cleared their Nation.

1682. The famous Society at *Leipſic* in *Saxony* was founded for promoting the ſame Knowledge of Nature; and I doubt not but it hath had as uſeful an Influence there. And as I take this not only to be a Juſtification of our Nation from what Diſhonour might be fix'd upon us from that Certificate, which I have honeſtly mention'd, I could wiſh it might animate all generous Spirits in our Nation, to look upon our *Royal Society* as one of the Nobleſt Foundations in *Europe*, and very ſalutary to our Country.

Since

Since that hath been founded, not only our Witchcrafts have been banish'd, but all Arts and Sciences have been greatly improv'd. Our Buildings are much more beautiful and commodious, and yet more cheaply built, and easier kept in Repair. Our Gardens and Orchards are stock'd with new and nobler Fruits, and Fields and Woods with useful Trees. Many of our Lands that were almost useless, are loaded with new kinds of Grass and Roots, by better understanding the Improvement of the Soil. Our Money is more beautiful, and less liable to being impair'd. Physick and Surgery are new moulded and improv'd, for the lengthning out of Life in Ease. The smallest Parts of Bodies are made visible by Glasses, and the farthest Planets are brought near, and their Motions wonderfully accounted for. Navigation is much improved, and Communications of Knowledge settled with the farthest Parts. All Arts are improv'd, God is seen and admir'd in his Works, and the Honour of Religion no ways lessen'd; and yet because *Rome* is not built in a Day, and every Weekly Meeting doth not produce new Discoveries that make their Hair stand an end with Wonder, ignorant Men, that know not the Difficulty and slow Progress of Knowledge, are ready to make Sport with, and banter away the Improvements of their own Life.

But this pleasing Subject is wandring out of my way; and therefore, with good Wishes to the Labours of those generous Persons who apply some part of their spare Hours this way, I close

close this Chapter of *Jane Wenham*, with only adding, That if any one desires to see more Particulars of her Case, he may read the ingenious Answer which Mr. *Stebbing* gave to the Books written against her, and there he will find both the Knavery and Folly of Witnesses and Prosecutors, detected to his Satisfaction.

CHAP. XI.

Concerning Teats, Marks, Charms, Want of Tears, and Swimming Witches.

Jurym. LET us pass, I beg of you, to another Point; for there are some Principles and Cases that are the Foundation of the common Prosecutions, and yet have not been particularly spoken to as yet. One of them is the *Water Ordeal*; and I would be glad to hear what your Thoughts are about that. May we not try a Witch by Swimming.

Clerg. You may as well swim all the Books that have been written for or against the Belief of them, and try the Truth of their Doctrines that way; for there is as much Reason and Scripture for that, as there is for the other?

Adv. Tho' you make a Jest of it, King *James*, in his *Dæmonology*, approved and allowed it; and gives this Reason for it, *That as such Persons*

ſons have renounced their Baptiſm by Water, ſo the Water refuſes to receive them.

Clerg. If you compare the Dates and Order of King *James*'s Works, you will eaſily find, that he wrote that Book when he was very young; and ſince even in his Youth, being a Perſon otherwiſe of Parts and Learning, he could find no better Foundation for it than that, you may conclude, that it is an unwarrantable Action, for which no Colour of Reaſon can be pretended; for this which he aſſigns, is ſuch as needs no Confutation.

Jury. How came ſuch a Practice into the World; for it is an odd Thing?

Clerg. The firſt Footſteps that I find of it, are amongſt thoſe where we may find the real Beginning of moſt of our Superſtitions, and they are the old *Heathen Idolaters. Pliny*, in his Seventh Book, and Second Chapter, ſpeaking of the *Thibii*, ſaith, *Non poſſe mergi*, That they could not be drown'd. And when Nations did become Chriſtian, it was a great while before they could change all their ſuperſtitious, idolatrous Cuſtoms. We find in our Nation, ſo late as the *Norman* Conqueſt, that they tried their *Robberies*, *Murders*, *Adulteries*, and often their *Claims to Land*, by *Combat*, or the *Decretory Morſel*, or by *carrying hot Iron*, or *paſſing thorough hot Plow-ſhares*, or *putting their Hands into hot Water*, or *ſwimming* of them in *cold*. And when a Priſoner in our Courts is ask'd, How he will be tried? I ſuppoſe it is a Continuance of the Queſtion put to them in thoſe

thoſe Times, when they had the Choice of being tried by a Jury, or by one of thoſe Ways. But the Uſe of them is a great Temptation of God; they expoſe themſelves to the Deluſions of evil Spirits, and they give crafty Men an Opportunity of eſcaping unpuniſh'd; for any of thoſe Tryals may be paſs'd thorough by Trick, if either the Governors favour it, or the People be ignorant. And where there ſeem'd leaſt ſign of Tricking, the Experiments were found to fall out ſo often contrary to the plain Evidence of the Fact, that not only Chriſtian, but all Civiliz'd Nations, have rejected them.

Jurym. But pray, when our Country People do try old Women this way, and they ſwim, doth it not ſhew a ſupernatural Power either of God, or the Devil?

Clerg. If it be allowed in ſome Caſes to be ſo, as there are ſtrange Stories told, it would not follow that we might therefore uſe it: For we may not tempt God; and we muſt not truſt the Devil. But I take it to be uſually owing to the Manner of the Tryal, in which a Rope being tied about the ſuppos'd Witch, one end is held by ſome Man on one Side the River, and the other by others on the other, whereby a little Pulling may keep her above Water: And ſometimes it may be owing to the Lightneſs of their Bodies and their Cloaths; and tying their Thumbs and Toes together, and then putting them into the Water, not with their Feet downwards, but lengthways; ſo as the Trunk of their Body that is light, may bear up thoſe Parts that are more ſolid.

ſolid. And I do not know but half of the old Women in the Nation might ſwim, if they were try'd this Way in *Woollen* and *Sweaty* Petticoats.

Jur. The tying their Thumbs and Toes ſatisfies me, that all in it, which is not *Trick*, is *Nature*. For if it was a fair Appeal to Providence, what need would there be of ſuch ludicrous and indecent Actions? God, or the Devil either, could hold them up unty'd as well as ty'd: But in way either of *Trick* or *Nature*, their being ty'd is a material Circumſtance; becauſe then the Witch-finders muſt put them in themſelves, and may do it gently in their own Way.

Clerg. It is viſible, that the Bodies of all Creatures are near to an equal Poiſe with the Water. Their Swimming while Alive, and Floating ſome Time after their Death, are a conſtant Demonſtration, that they are always near to an *Æquilibrium*. Then there muſt of Neceſſity be conſiderable Differences made by their Fatneſs or Leanneſs, Moiſture or Drineſs, Windineſs or Freedom from Wind and Vapours, by accidental Extenſions of their Bodies, by the Motions of their Breath or Spirits, by the manner of their Managers holding the Rope, or by other ſecret Cauſes which may eaſily turn ſo nice a Scale, though we do not perceive the Reaſon: Now this makes, that of all Things this Tryal by Swimming is unfit for an *Appeal* to Providence; becauſe without a Supernatural Power, ſome Experiments would fall one way, and ſome another: But of all that one can readily find out,

it

it is the fittest for a fallacious Trick to make the Rabble wonder: And therefore this easy *Ordeal* hath been continued amongst them, when all the more dangerous ones have been long since rejected.

Then there is another vulgar Mark of Witchcraft, which helps to explain the Fallacy of this; and that is, *Want of Tears.* It is manifest by that, that the poor old Creatures have little *Moisture* in their Bodies. Old Age, Sorrow, and want of Sleep under such Afflictions, dry it up, and fill them with Wind and Vapours, that both hinders them from shedding Tears, and makes them lie light *upon the Water.* Mr. *Baxter* in his *Certainty of the World of Spirits*, quotes from *Wolfius*, That a Melancholy tempted Woman threw her self into the Water, and lay upon it for three Hours together. And yet your Countryman, Mr. *Advocate*, who gives an Account of the seven that were hang'd in *Scotland*, in the Year 1697, insists upon *want of Tears*, as a reasonable Suspicion of Witchcraft. He is asham'd indeed of *Swimming*, and gives it up; but to shew the Niceness of his Judgment, he makes *Want of Tears* to be a fair Mark. See *Sadducismus Debellatus.*

And as great Numbers of poor Creatures have been destroy'd, and the Justice of the Nation reproach'd for this Custom of Swimming, and yet our Country-People are still as fond of it, as they are of Baiting a Bear or Bull: I will take leave to publish in as solemn a Manner as I can; that at the Summer-Assizes held at *Brentwood*

in

in *Essex*, in the Year 1712, our Excellent Lord Chief Justice of *England*, the Right Honourable the Lord *Parker*, by a just and righteous Piece of Judgment, hath given all Men Warning, That if any dare for the future to make use of that Experiment, and the Party lose her Life by it, all they that are the Cause of it are guilty of *Wilful Murther*.

The Jury indeed would have found the Fact to be Manslaughter, but with how vain and comical a Judgment: For the putting into Water was voluntary, was unlawful, and without Provocation; and doth not every one know that Water will drown, and that Drowning is as much Murder as Stabbing: And therefore as a Noble Precedent is now given of a true Judgment, I wish I cou'd proclaim it so loud, that every Man in *England* might hear it; that if any Man hereafter uses that ungodly Tryal, and the Party tried be drown'd; neither King *James*'s Book, nor any other past Precedents will save them from an Halter.

Jur. What Judgment must we make of what they say about *Teats* and *Magical Signs*, as they call them; and insensible Parts that are found upon them?

Clerg. I make no doubt but that some of them are *Scurvy-Spots*, or mortified or withered Parts, or hollow Spaces between the Muscles: Others are *Piles*, or *Verrucæ Pensiles*, hanging Warts, which in old Age may grow large and fistulous: Others may be *Moles* or *Scars*, or Marks in the Womb, from the Mother's Imagination. Or they

they may be Marks that are ſeen to be uſeful by God, and are thrown out by Nature for the Prevention of Murders of Children, and Changes of Heirs; for the diſtinguiſhing of dead Bodies, and for the Knowledge of Perſons after long Abſence: But to make uſe of any of them for Signs of Witchcraft, is ſuch a Perverſion of Juſtice, that I know not what Name to call it by.

And here I will give you the Teſtimony of *Epiſcopius*, in his *Theological Inſtitutions*, Book III. Chap. 1. *Res nota & experientiâ triſtiſſimâ non ſemel comprobata in iis Fœminis quæ propter notas iſtas impreſſas damnatæ ad equuleum, & tormentorum ſeu Metu ſeu Vi ad confitendum crimen adactæ, ultimo Supplicio adfectæ fuerunt, quas poſtea deprehenſum fuit inſontes atque innoxias prorſus fuiſſe, ſaltem immunes ab omni ſcelere ac maleficio, & notas iſtas in Corporibus ſuis habuiſſe aut à Naturâ, aut à Morbo, aut à Caſu per eos qui ejus Rei conſcii atque indubitati teſtes erant*, "It is a "ſad Thing, ſaith he, but it hath been many "a Time found true, that Women, who by Rea"ſon of thoſe impreſt Marks, have been con"demn'd to the Rack, either for Fear or Force "of Torments, have confeſs'd and been put to "Death: And it hath afterward been atteſted "by undeniable Witneſs, that thoſe Women "were innocent and harmleſs, or at leaſt free "from that Crime of Witchcraft: And that "thoſe Marks were either from Nature, or "or ſome Diſeaſe or Chance.

Jur. What do you ſay concerning *Charms*?

Clerg. It is both a great *Sin* and a great *Folly* to use them.

Jur. But are there not many strange Cures or Wonders wrought by them?

Clerg. Credulous, Superstitious People will out-face you with foolish old Wives Tales. But I will tell you of two Instances that will do you more good than all of them. *Webster* in his 17th Chapter quotes them from *Amatus Lusitanus*, a sober and learned Physician. Saith he, "Two young Men were Travelling in the "Road, and one of them spied a Viper at the "Root of a Tree. He had a Charm for Vi-"pers, of which he was so confident, that he "ventured a Wager with his Fellow, that he "would take it up without Harm: But the Vi-"per bit him by the Finger, and he sucking it "to take out the Venom, poisoned himself, and "died in a few Days". Another who was his own Patient, "had his Leg cut off; and by Acci-"dent in the Night-Time, set the Stump on "bleeding. One in the House would under-"take to stop the Blood with a Charm that he "had. He tried all Night without Effect; and "in the Morning, when they called the Doctor's "Servant, he stopp'd the Flux, but the Person "had lost so much Blood, that he died the next "Day". All rational Persons laugh at Charms, and how can we believe such Childish Fancies.

Adv. I confess these Stories are to the Purpose, if they be true. But who was this *Amatus Lusitanus* that tells them?

Clerg. If these Facts had been in a Book that had no Name before it, yet their own Reason would have given them Weight with all wise Men. But if you think such Relations want a more known Name, I will give you one out of *Redi*, the famous *Italian*, who hath taken particular Pains to enquire into Things of this Nature. See *Experimenta Naturalia*, *page* 23. "There was, saith he, in the Court of our "Great Duke (the Duke of *Tuscany*) a Man "that came out of the Mountainous Part of "the Country, to live at *Florence*. He was a "Man in Credit, and famous in his own Way, "which was making *Clocks*. As he was talk-"ing once before the Duke, he happen'd to "tell the Company, That in his Country there "were many that had their Skins so hardened "with Charms, and Herbs, and Stones, that "they were Proof against a Bullet; and they "need not doubt the Thing, for he had often "seen the Experiment himself". The Company smiled upon one another, to see the good Man so foolish as to believe such Fancies. And he secretly vexed for being laughed at, for telling what he had seen with his own Eyes, muttered something against them for their Unbelief, and told them, It should not be long before the Jest was returned upon them. So what does the Man, but at his own Charge sends for one of those case-harden'd Men, and brought him to Court: And the bold Man told them, He was charmed in that Manner; and to give them Satisfaction, he opened his Breast, and bad any one

of the Courtiers ſhoot at him, and ſpare not. *Charles Coſta*, one of the Duke's Officers, was juſt going to make the Experiment, when the Duke, out of Pity to the poor Fellow, bad *Coſta* ſhoot him only into the Buttocks: And ſo he did, that the Bullet went quite through, and the Fellow ran out aſhamed and bleeding. This did put the Clock-maker out of Countenance: But theſe kind of Caſes never want Evaſions and Excuſes: And ſome way or other he ſolved it to himſelf, that he ſtood in it ſtill, that he was right. And in a Week or two after he came again with two Soldiers after him; one that was ſo charm'd, and the other that had charmed him: And the Soldier that was charm'd, ſtripp'd his Right Thigh, ſhewed them five blew Spots where Bullets had been ſhot without entring; called Witneſſes that had ſeen the Thing, and they vouched the Truth of what he had ſaid: And one offered a Wager of five and twenty Crowns, that the Experiment would hold then; for this Man alſo would venture the Tryal. So the Wager was laid, and immediately they ſhot that Fellow through the Buttocks as they had ſhot the other. While the Company was laughing, and the Fellow feeling his Back-ſide, the Charmer that had impudently carried on the Humour ſo far, was ſliding out of the Company, but was laid hold on, and threatned to be ſeverely puniſhed, if he would not tell which way he had deceived the Soldier into that confident Belief of his Charms: And all the Secret lay in charging the Piſtol, ſo as the greateſt Part of the Powder ſhould

ſhould lie before the Bullet, and only a little behind it. By that means, the Report and Fire would be great ; but the Bullet would come weak to the Place, and fall without hurting the Perſon. *Redi* adds ſeveral other Caſes: Particularly a Detection that he made himſelf, of a famous Charm amongſt the *Turks*: But I will add no more. Thoſe that will not be ſatisfied with theſe may believe them ſtill.

CHAP. XII.

What kind of Witchcrafts they are that are ſpoken of in the Holy Scriptures.

Adv. I Will urge you with no more of theſe Tryals. The reſt do ſtand upon theſe kind of Proofs, even the laſt famous Tryals in our Part of *Great-Britain*, in the Year 1697, when ſeven were condemned and executed; and if theſe Proofs be not ſufficient, the Perſons have had the more Wrong done them. But if we ſuppoſe this, What muſt we ſay to thoſe many Laws, both Divine and Human, that ſtand upon Record againſt them? And therefore we will paſs now, if you think fit, from the Conſideration of *Facts* to Laws; and of Laws to the Divine firſt. And what Account will you give us of them?

Clerg. This is a Pinot of very great Difficulty amongſt the Criticks, and I will not pretend to

make my self Umpire: But I will offer some few Things, that, I think, are manifest, and may keep us from pressing them too hard against our Neighbour's Lives.

1. Whatever the Meaning of those Laws were, they are of that Part of the Law which is usually call'd *Judicial*; and therefore they are not binding to us, farther than we find them useful, and agreeable to our own Times. Our Government hath either increased or moderated the Punishment of *Theft*, *Sabbath-breaking*, *Perjury*, and *Adultery*, as they found needful; and they have the same Liberty with Respect to this of *Sorcery*, if they see good Reason.

2. The Laws of the *Old Testament* in this Point, are mostly grounded upon *Names*, without *Definitions* along with them; and therefore, tho' they might be sufficiently known then, they can hardly be determined now so certainly, as to be made the Rule by which we may take away our Neighbours Lives. Of all kinds of Words, it is hardest to translate common Names of Persons, because Length of Time fixes perfectly different Characters to the very same Words. You know what a bad Man we mean by a *Villain*; and yet anciently the very same Word signify'd only a Country-Man, that lived in a Village. A *Knave*, not many Years since, was the common Name of *Servants*. A *Magician* was one that was a wise Man and Philosopher; and you know how *Daniel* laboured to save the Lives of the *Magicians* in his Time. And three *Magicians* came out of the *East* to worship

worſhip our Saviour. A *Conjurer* is a very literal Tranſlation of *Exorciſt* ; and yet Time hath made one ſignify an Office that is allowed of in the *Roman* Church ; and the other, an infamous Criminal, both in their Church and ours. In the Time of *Tacitus*, and long after, ſuch ill People were call'd *Mathematici* ; and if a bad Name be an Argument againſt them, ſuch a good one ſhould be as ſtrong in their Favour. *Sorcery* is one of the moſt common Names in our Law-Books for Witchcraft, and is made Felony by our Statute : But to what little Purpoſe would they ſpend their Time, who ſhould go about to define the Crime by the Name ; for in Strictneſs, *Sorcery* ſignifies Lottery, and no more ? It ſeems very likely, that there hath happened as great a Change to the Word *Witch* ; for *Witch*, if Dr. *More* interprets it rightly, ſignifies a *wiſe Woman* ; and one may be pretty ſure, that the Law was not, *Thou ſhalt not ſuffer a wiſe Woman to live*. What the *Hebrew* Word for Witch doth ſignify, I find Interpreters much at a loſs. In the Popiſh Bible, it is tranſlated an *Inchanter*, and that doth not imply a Perſon in Covenant with the Devil, but one that thought to work Wonders, by ſinging powerful Verſes. In the vulgar *Latin* it is *Venefica* a *Poiſoner*. In the *Septuagint*, it is φαρμακὸς, a Word that favours the ſame Senſe. *Junius* and *Tremellius* tranſlate it *Præſtigiatricem*, a *Juggler*, and the *French* Churches a *Sorcerer*. The other Names in the 18th of *Deuteronomy*, are interpreted as variouſly. Dr. *More*, and they that give great

Credit to the Power of Magick, tranſlate them into *Engliſh* Names that imply a great Power; as *Diviner*, *Inchanter*, *Charmer*, *Necromancer*, Witch, Wizzard, and Conſulter with familiar Spirits, (though the Word that is tranſlated *Spirits* be of doubtful Signification, and the Word *Familiar* is added, having no Epithet in the *Hebrew* that anſwers to it). They that think all Magick to be mere Juggle, without any real Power, tranſlate them, *Aſtrologers*, *Fortune-tellers*, *Sooth-ſayers*, *Impoſtors*, *Obſervers* of the flying of Birds, *Conjecturers*, Conſulters with *Oracles*, *Ventriloquiſts*, *Gnoſticks*, and *Jugglers*. The Tranſlators of the *Septuagint*, *Junius* and *Tremellius*; the old Tranſlation of our *Engliſh* Bible, with reſpect to ſome of the Words, and many very learned Men incline this way; and I do not ſee but they give as probable Reaſons for theſe Names as are given for the other. But let them be taken which way they will, I do not ſee that we may venture to lay much Weight upon them. Names are ſometimes taken by the Pretenders themſelves to magnify their own Art; and ſometimes are given by the Credulity of the People, or the Ill-will of Parties. Time changes them, and makes ſome better, and others worſe than their Significations: And therefore I conceive, we cannot, without Danger, take upon us from the Names, to define either the Nature of their Works, or the Extent of their Power. We muſt remember it is a Caſe of Life or Death that is before us: And therefore our Judgment muſt

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be founded upon ſurer Grounds than doubtful Names.

Adv. But tho' the bare Names will not perhaps bear ſo much Weight as ſome lay upon them, yet ſince their Names and Works together are often mentioned in the holy Scripture, I ſuppoſe from both we may learn what they were. And therefore pray tell us, what your Opinion is of the Scripture Witchcrafts?

Clerg. They were the Divinations and falſe Prophecies, by which the Idolaters of thoſe Times took Men's Minds off from their Dependence upon the true God and his Providence, and made them look rather to the Stars, and Dæmons, and dead Men, and Charms and Omens, that ſupported the Worſhip of their falſe Gods.

This is the Account that our ancient Law-Books give of Sorcery or Witchcraft. See *The Mirror of Juſtice*, Chap. 1. Sect. 5. It was written about the Time of *Edward* I. or II. and under the Head of Hereſy it ranks Sorcery, and defines it.

Sorcery eſt un Art a Deviner.

Diviner proprement ſounc in Mal part, ſicome Propheſie ſounc in Bien parte. (i. e.) Sorcery is the Art of Divination; Divination is properly taken in a bad Senſe, as Prophecy is taken in a good Senſe. After that, he reckons up the ſeveral Ways of Propheſying or Divining by the Fire, Air, Water, Earth, Augury, or the Dead, as in the Caſe of *Samuel* and *Saul.*

And

And the holy Scriptures teach us the same Doctrine, 1 *Sam.* 15. 22, 23. *And Samuel said, Hath the Lord as great delight in burnt-offerings and sacrifices, as in obeying the voice of the Lord? Behold, to obey is better than sacrifice, and to hearken, than the fat of rams. For rebellion is as the sin of witchcraft, and stubbornness is as iniquity and idolatry.* Over-against the Word *Witchcraft* in the Margin of the Bible, is put *Divination*, which leads us to this easy Sense of *Samuel*'s pious Reproof. What signifies it for a Man to chuse the true God for his God, if he doth not regard him; for God accepts of no Man's Professions, without Obebience? If then you disobey or neglect the true God whom you believe, you may even as well forsake him, and practise the Divinations and Idolatries of the false Gods that are set up against him. We see under the Name of *Witchcrafts*, the Prophet expresses those *Divinations*, by the Credit of which the Heathens drew away the People from the true God to false ones.

The other Prophets of God in the Ages after, speak of their Idolatries in the same way, and more expressly. Jer. 27. 9, 10. *Therefore hearken not ye to your prophets, nor to your diviners, nor to your dreamers, nor to your enchanters, nor to your sorcerers, which speak unto you, saying, Ye shall not serve the King of Babylon: For they prophesie a lie unto you, to remove you far from your land.* Isa. 2. 6. *Therefore thou hast forsaken thy people; because they be replenished*

from the eaſt, and are ſoothſayers like the Philiſtines. Iſa. 47. 12, 13. *Stand now with thine inchantments, and with the multitude of thy ſorceries, wherein thou haſt laboured from thy youth; if ſo be thou ſhalt be able to profit, if ſo be thou mayeſt prevail. Thou art wearied in the multitude of thy counſels: let now the aſtrologers, the ſtar-gazers, the monthly prognoſticators ſtand up, and ſave thee from thoſe things that ſhall come upon thee.* Ezek. 21. 21, 22. *For the king of Babylon ſtood at the parting of the way, at the head of the two ways, to uſe divination: he made his Arrows bright, he conſulted with Images, he looked into the Liver. At his right hand was the divination for Jeruſalem.* Theſe were *Jezebel's* Witchcrafts: She had four hundred falſe Prophets that were fed at her Table; and tho' *Jehu* called her Works *Witchcrafts*, her Admirers honoured her as a Propheteſs, *Rev.* 2. 20.

The Prophet *Nahum* deſcribes the Idolatries of *Nineveh* in ſuch like Terms. *Nahum* 3. 4. *Becauſe of the multitude of the whoredoms of the well-favoured harlot, the miſtreſs of witchcrafts, that ſelleth nations through her whoredoms, and families through her witchcrafts.* To name but one Place more. Micah 5. 12. *I will cut off witchcrafts out of thine hand, and thou ſhalt have no more ſoothſayers. Thy graven Images will I cut off.*

By theſe Texts we learn, both that their Idolatries were their Witchcrafts, and what kind of Men were deepeſt in that Guilt, and by what

Means

Means they were deluded. They were not *Sadducees*, who believ'd neither *Angel* nor *Spirit*; But they were Δεισιδαιμονέστεροι. They were over-credulous, and too fearful and ſuperſtitious about Dæmons, Spirits and dead Men, which they called Gods. They were not *Atheiſts* that denied Providence, but they were ſuch Providential Men, as pretended to underſtand the divine Mind and Meaning in all ſudden Calamities, monſtrous Births, Voices in the Air, ſtrange Birds, Comets, Eclipſes, and all the *Omens* and *Oſtenta* of Nature. The Office of that part of their Prieſts who were called *Augurs*, lay wholly in ſtudying and interpreting ſuch like Things. Then again, they did not deny all *Supernatural Inſpiration*, but ſunk their Notions of it too low, believing even their Madneſs, Enthuſiaſms, Drunkenneſs, Falling-ſickneſs, Vapours, to be full of Prophecy and Divine Inſtructions. They were not cold and careleſs in their Devotions; but made uſe of vehement, and as they thought powerful Invocations, which they boaſted to be anſwered by preſent ſupernatural Changes in the Entrails of their Sacrifices. By theſe Means they pretended to open the Book of Fate, and read the dark Lines of Futurity. They undertook to prognoſticate the Life or Death of ſick Perſons without ſeeing them. *Ahaziah*, we know, after his Fall, ſent to the Temple of *Baalzebub* to enquire, whether he ſhould recover his Sickneſs which followed that Accident. They boaſted, that they could foretel the Succeſs of Wars and Battels, and do much towards drawing the Vi-

ctory

ctory towards that Side which ſought to them for Help. And they had ſo many Relations of Facts that ſeem'd to verify the Predictions, that many Princes were fond of them, and grave Nations enquired of them; and even the *Jews* were wonderfully prone to forſake the Faith and Worſhip of the true God, and receive the more popular Religion of thoſe Heathens.

Perhaps when you hear me deſcribe thoſe ancient idolatrous falſe Prophets to be religious over-much, with their Heads too full of Spirits, and Miracles, and Inſpirations; you will think I aim at *Papiſts*, and ſome of the Ringleaders of our own Sects, and ſeek to wound them through the Heathen's Sides: But it will be a juſter Thought, if you take occaſion to obſerve from it, how very ſteadily Nature, and even the Imitations of it, keep their Courſe; and how true the Obſervation in our Divine Writings is, that there is nothing new done under the Sun. For it is very certain, that for all the Lamentations that our Enthuſiaſts make over the Miſery of thoſe Idolaters, they come very near them, and differ but little more than in Name from them. For as human Nature is the ſame now as it was then, ſo are its Paſſions the ſame alſo. As our Bodily Diſeaſes are the ſame; ſo are the Diſeaſes of our Mind. As ſtrange Accidents, Futurity, good and evil Angels, dead Men, Mortality, and the Difficulties and Dangers of Things, are the ſame round about us, ſo they make the ſame Impreſſions upon us; and weak Men in their Fear catch at the ſame imaginary

Remedies. From hence it comes to paſs, that as the Fear of God and true Religion ſtood then in the middle betwixt an Atheiſtical Sadduciſm on one hand, and a timorous Enthuſiaſtical Credulity on the other; juſt ſo it ſtands now. And as their *Idolaters* and our *Enthuſiaſts* do both of them err on the ſame credulous, ſuperſtitious Side, ſo their Errors, tho' they ſeem different, are the ſame for Subſtance; both of them fancying, that they had and have, more Inſpiration, greater Acquaintance with God and Spirits, higher Knowledge, greater Power, and more Prophecy than either they had or ours have. I think this appears manifeſt from thoſe Inſtances I gave of the Idolatries of the falſe Prophets; and if I thought they were wanted, I might confirm it by as many more.

Adv. But pray let me ſtay your Hand from that; For what you have ſaid already upon that Point is a Digreſſion from our Buſineſs: For our Enquiry is not, how near our modern Enthuſiaſts, whether *Popiſh* or *Fanatick*, come to the ancient Heathen Idolaters; but who were the *Sorcerers* and *Wizzards* of the *Old Teſtament*. And I find it is your Opinion, that they were the falſe Prophets, Heathen Prieſts, Diviners, and Augurs of thoſe Times; and that their Witchcrafts were their Divinations, Invocations, magical Sacrifices, Charms, Amulets, pretended Inſpirations, and crafty Prophecies. But if theſe were the Sorcerers and Witchcrafts of the *Old Teſtament*, who were the Sorcerers, and what were the Witchcrafts of the New?

Clerg.

Clerg. The Sorcerers in the *New-Teſtament*, were the Falſe Apoſtles and Seducers; and their Witchcrafts and Sorceries were their pretended Inſpirations, Miracles, and Viſions, whereby they imitated and tried to out-do the true Apoſtles. In 2 *Cor.* 11. 13. *For ſuch are falſe Apoſtles, deceitful Workers, transforming themſelves into the Apoſtles of Chriſt.* The 2[d] of *Rev.* ver. 2. *And thou haſt tried them that ſay they are Apoſtles, and are not*; *and haſt found them liars.* Now I ask, By what Ways did they transform themſelves into the Apoſtles of Chriſt? It was by pretending to do as the Apoſtles did, when they were Liars and deceitful Workers, who did nothing that was really like them. They had their feigned Viſions, Revelations, and counterfeit Inſpirations. That is the Reaſon that St. *John*, 1 *Ep.* 4. ver. 1. exhorts the Chriſtians he wrote to, to try the Spirits whether they were of God, becauſe many falſe Prophets are gone out into the World. Then they had their τέρατα ψεύδους, lying Wonders, which they compared with the Miracles of the Apoſtles. The Sons of *Sceva* ventured to make a Trial, whether they could not caſt out a Devil; and though at that Time he would not be ejected, at another Time he might pretend to be overcome, that he might give Credit to one of his own Inſtruments. For theſe Reaſons, thoſe that oppoſed the Apoſtles are called *Sorcerers* and *Magicians*, in as plain Terms as *Jannes* and *Jambres* that oppoſed *Moſes*. *Elymas* that reſiſted St. *Paul*, and ſought to turn the *Deputy* from

from the Faith, is called the *Sorcerer*; and *Simon* is called, as if he had been really ſirnamed the *Magician*. And when he could not buy a Power of giving the Holy Ghoſt, he fell again to his old Trade of Sorcery: And his Sorcery was an Art by which he bewitched the People of *Samaria* to admire him, not as a wicked *Conjurer*, but as the *great Power of God*. Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory gives us a large Account of his Pretenſions. And *Euſebius*, Lib. 2, and 3, tells us, That *Menander* and *Cerinthus*, and moſt of the firſt Hereticks, deſcended from him, and were much given to Sorceries.

For theſe Reaſons I reckon it to be, that St. *Paul*, when he ſpeaks of *Witchcraft*, uſually joins it with *Idolatry* and *Hereſy*. St. *John* ſpeaks of them three Times in the Revelation, and in the 18th Chapter, ver. 23. ſaith, *By thy Sorceries were all Nations deceived.* Conſider that Expreſſion duly, and then tell me, whether the Nations were miſled in the Religion by obſcure concealed Witches like ours, that could not be found out but by ſecret Teats: Or whether they were not deceived by crafty Seducers, that counterfeited Inſpirations and Miracles, and by other popular Arts bewitched the People to admire them, as if they had been equal with the Apoſtles.

Adv. This that you ſay is Truth; but not the whole Truth. I grant you, that the Heathen Idolatries, and Chriſtian Hereſies were built upon theſe Foundations, and that the Prophets and Apoſtles rightly taught the *Jews* and Chriſtians

Christians to look upon their Works as mere Witchcraft, though their Followers took them for the very Power of Religion: But then you must consider, that those ancient Nations had other People at the same Time, which not only the Prophets and Apostles, but they themselves call'd Witches and execrable People. Now I would know what Kind of Persons these were.

Clerg. They were loose People, that either out of *Curiosity* or *Credulity*, either to satisfy their Love or Revenge, or to get Money by satisfying others, pretended to do as much out of the Temples, as the Augurs, Soothsayers, and Diviners were thought to do in them. And having meaner and more credulous People to deal with, they made them believe they could perform whatever they ask'd for. They would undertake to cause Love, call up Spirits, make old Men young again, change Men into Beasts, nay call down the Moon, with their Charms and Incantations; and mingling dangerous Drugs with some of their Compositions, they often did very real Mischief.

Adv. These are the People I enquired after: And now I want to hear what Judgment you make of these.

Clerg. It is not easy to be thought, that the *Imitators* should really do more than their *Masters* that they learnt from: And therefore tho' they pretended more, and were esteem'd to be different from the Southsayers and Diviners, and had the more scandalous Names of Witches and Wizzards, I put them together in the Judgment

that I make of them. As the Holy Scriptures rank the falſe Prophets, and Falſe Apoſtles with the Witches and Wizzards; ſo I rank the Witches and Wizzards with the falſe Prophets and Apoſtles, with this Difference, that one acted by Law, or Office, or Pretence of Religion; the others were looſe, immoral People, that practiſed by Stealth, and would undertake any Thing, Good or Evil, that their Cuſtomers came for.

Adv. Well! we ſhall come to the main Point by Degrees, and therefore I ask you farther: Were not Evil Spirits the Authors of thoſe Works that were wrought both by Heathen Prieſts and Augurs, falſe Prophets and Apoſtles, and the Witches and Wizzards alſo?

Clerg. As Tempters, no Queſtion; and as Helpers as far as they could; for their Work went forward, when any of theſe proſpered. And therefore whatſoever Names the Heathens gave their Gods, and whatever Pretenſions others made, the Devil was their God and Leader in Reality, and all their Works were Sacrifices to him: For whoſoever oppoſes and corrupts God's Truth, whoſoever promotes Principles that give liberty to Sin; whoſoever diſturbs the Happineſs of Mankind by breaking the Peace and good Order of Churches and States, to ſerve themſelves and their own Pride and Pleaſures, every ſuch Man Διαβόλῳ λατρεύει ſacrifices to the Devil, and his Actions may very juſtly be call'd the Devil's Works.

Adv. You know my Meaning, if you would anſwer me: The Queſtion I ask is, Whether

the

the Devil did not act such a Part in them, as made their Works Supernatural, above the Power of Man and Matter?

Clerg. At some times, when God, for some special Purposes, permitted him, no doubt but he did; but not so often as many are apt to imagine. And therefore I will add some Texts and Authorities that incline one to think, that they were chiefly supported by Enthusiasm, Cheat, and Imposture.

Interpreters generally refer the 31st *Psalm*, ver. 6. to this Kind of Arts; and in that *David* calls them *Lying Vanities*; I hate them *that hold lying* Vanities. *Junius* and *Tremellius* render it *Vanitates Vanissimas.* Our learned late Bishop of *Ely* paraphrases it. I never enquired of Diviners, Wizzards, Southsayers, or Fortune-Tellers; nor consulted with Necromancers, or any other of those Vanities wherewith the *Gentile* World is cheated. The Prophet *Jeremy*, speaking of their Prophecies, *ch.* 14. ℣. 14. saith, *They prophesy unto you a false Vision and Divination, and a thing of nought, and the deceit of their Heart.* In the tenth Chapter he speaks of their Casting Nativities, and telling Things to come, by the Stars and Signs of Heaven: And though they added to their Art many Magical, Idolatrous, Diabolical Rites, and invoked Spirits into their Images, that were erected under the proper Constellations; and therefore must be supposed to have all the Assistance the Devil could give his Agents; yet the Prophet derides them as vain Pretenders

that could do nothing; Verſe 2, *&c. Thus ſaith the Lord, Learn not the way of the Heathen, and be not diſmayed at the Signs of Heaven; for the Heathen are diſmayed at them. For the Cuſtoms of the People are vain: For one cutteth a Tree out the Foreſt (the work of the Hands of the Workman) with the Ax. They deck it with Silver and with Gold; they faſten it with Nails and with Hammers that it move not. They are upright as the Palm-tree, but ſpeak not: They muſt needs be* carried, *becauſe they cannot go. Be not afraid of them, for they cannot do evil, neither alſo is it in them to do good.* Jer. 14. 22. *Are there any among the Vanities of the Gentiles that can cauſe Rain?* Iſa. 41. 23, 24. *Shew the things that are to come hereafter, that we may know that ye are gods; yea, do good, or do evil, that we may be diſmayed, and behold it together. Behold, ye are of nothing, and your work of nought; an abomination is he that chuſeth you.*

Though the Hiſtory of *Bel* and the *Dragon* be not Canonical Scripture, it is very ancient, and ſhews us, That the *Jews* in thoſe Times, thought the Miracles of the Heathen Gods were owing to the Trap Doors and Tricks of their Prieſts. To name but one Place more, and it is in *Eccleſiaſticus:* Though the Author of it was not a Prophet, I believe he will be allowed to have been as wiſe a Man, as any in his Time: And he tells us, *ch.* 34. *ver.* 5. *Divinations, and South-ſayings, and Dreams are vain, and the Heart fancieth as a Woman's Heart in Travail.*

Tully

Tully was one that pried as narrowly into Things as any Man in that learned Age he lived in; and he wrote two Books concerning their Divinations, and argued the Point of their Reality both ways, with ſuch Appearance of Reaſon, that ſome quote him, as if he was one that believed the miraculous Pretences and Predictions upon which they were founded: But that Part which anſwered and ridiculed thoſe pretended Facts he placed laſt, and made himſelf *(Cicero)* the Speaker, and adds near the Concluſion: *Ut verè loquamur, Superſtitio fuſa per Gentes oppreſſit omnium ferè animos, atque hominum imbecillitatem occupavit; quod & in iis Libris dictum eſt, qui ſunt de Naturâ Deorum, & hac diſputatione id maximè egimus. Multum enim & nobiſipſis & noſtris profuturi videbamus, ſi eam funditus ſuſtuliſſemus.* "That I may ſpeak, " ſaith he, the very Truth, an univerſal Superſtition through all Nations hath enſlaved the " Minds almoſt of all Men, and over-bore our " human Frailty: As I have ſhewn in thoſe " Books, which are concerning the Nature of " the Gods, and which I have endeavoured particularly to prove in this Diſputation: For, " ſaith he, I think I could do nothing better either for my ſelf or Countrymen, than if I could " pull up this Miſchief by the Roots. But, ſaith " he, I do carefully declare my ſelf, that when " I ſay Superſtition ſhould be rooted out, I do " by no means intend, that Religion ſhould be " taken away with it". And he adds what his Notion of Religion was, which conſidering that

it came from a Heathen, muſt be allowed for a very noble one, as would appear if it was proper for me to launch into a new Subject.

To this noble Sentence of *Tully*, if it was not for fear of being too long, I might add the Opinions of *Horace*, *Virgil*, *Plutarch*, *Pliny*, *Seneca*, and our *Engliſh Chaucer*, and many others: But our later Ages that have made greater Improvements in Philoſophy, are more likely to judge right than they, and therefore do not much want their Authorities in this Matter.

CHAP. XIII.

That it is a vulgar Error to think, that the Laws of all Nations have been like ours.

Adv. HAVING conſidered the Laws of God, let us come to the Laws of Man, which we may very well call the Experience and Judgment of the World through all Ages; and I will put this Argument to you in the Words of the Lord Chief Baron *Hale*, which were part of his Direction to the Jury at the Tryal of thoſe two that he condemned. Said he, The Wiſdom of all Nations hath provided Laws againſt ſuch Perſons; which is an Argument of their Confidence of ſuch a Crime. What have you to offer upon this Head?

Clerg.

Clerg. I conceive, that to make this Argument come up to any Purpoſe to our Caſe, it ſhould have been ſaid, not only that they had *Laws*, but that they had ſuch Laws as ours. For they may have Laws that are milder, and with leſs Penalties, and againſt other kinds of Facts, tho' with the ſame Names; and if ſo, this Argument doth not reach our Caſe. And as far as I can ſee, it is ſo far from being true, that all Nations have always had, and have now, ſuch Laws as ours, that I have ſome Reaſon to doubt, whether any Nation in the World hath, unleſs it be *Scotland*, to which I conceive we owe our Statute.

Now for the clearing this Caſe, I will lay before you ſuch Accounts as I have met with in thoſe Books that I have read upon the Subject: For to bring the Laws themſelves from amongſt the Statutes of all Nations, is what I muſt not pretend to.

And firſt *Lambertus Danæus*, Chap. 6. tells us, what I believe is very true; that as long as the Nations were Idolaters, they uſed the Help of Magick and Sorcery without Scruple, and had thoſe that were skilled in it in Honour; and that to this Day it is much in uſe amongſt the barbarous Nations, both in the *North* and *Eaſt*, and among the *Tartars*, and (I may add) the *Weſt-Indians*. He proceeds, that in all the Empire of *Perſia* the Study and Arts of theſe Men are in Eſteem now, as it was amongſt the *Ægyptians* formerly.

When *Joſeph* ask'd his Brethren, whether they thought

thought ſuch a Man as he could not *divine*, he ſpeaks not of Divination as a Fault, but a neceſſary Qualification of a great Man.

In the Magick of *Kirani* and *Carpocration*, it is ſaid that it was a neceſſary Accompliſhment, required in the Kings of *Perſia*. And *Tully* in his Books of Divination ſaith the ſame.

Moſt of the ancient Philoſophers, the *Chaldæans*, *Magi*, *Druids*, *Brachmans*, and *Platoniſts* allow'd and uſed it.

And I do not in the leaſt wonder, when I meet with theſe Accounts in the ancient Hiſtories: For it is the moſt eaſy natural Thought that can be, that there are other reaſonable Creatures in the World beſides Men; but the ſame natural Reaſon could no ways gueſs, that thoſe Spirits were fallen from their firſt Creation, or that they were Enemies to Mankind. Their firſt Thought would rather be, that all reaſonable Creatures, tho' inviſible, would be of a friendly Mind, and aſſiſting to all with whom they had Communication, and either ſay nothing, or tell Truth to thoſe that enquired of them. This the firſt Men would naturally hope; and, without Revelation, nothing but Experience of the Vanity and Miſchief of ſuch Converſe could teach them, that either there was nothing but the Chance of Things that ſeemed to anſwer their Tryals, or elſe that thoſe Spirits that dealt with them, were deceitful and malicious Beings, that took a wicked Pleaſure in their Deluſion and Deſtruction.

But to come to the Laws concerning Men's

Dealings

Dealings with them, whether real or pretended.

The Laws in the Holy Scripture are the first that we know of; and it must ever be accounted to the Honour of reveal'd Religion, that it was the first in forbidding such pretended and very dangerous Communications.

The next that I meet with, and which is often quoted to prove the real Power of Magick, are those of the Twelve Tables. *Qui fruges excantâssit —— neve alienam Segetem pellexeris*, *i.e.* "That they should not bewitch the Fruits "of the Earth; nor use any Charms to draw "their Neighbours Corn into their own Fields.— But as this was a *Roman* Law, and receiv'd, when they were an unlearn'd, and ignorant, and little People; I must add to it the Interpretation that the *Romans* themselves in after-ages gave to it; which I find printed with those Laws in *Justinian*'s *Institutes*. *Rudis adhuc Antiquitas credebat, & attrahi imbres Cantibus, & repelli, quorum nihil posse fieri, tam palam est, ut hujus causâ, nullius Philosophi Schola introeunda sit:* That is, "Our ignorant Ancestors "thought that they could cause Showers with "Charms; but we need go to the School of no "Philosopher to teach us otherwise.— These Words are *Seneca*'s, and the Judgment of the great Lawyer *Ulpian* is added to the same Purpose.

About a hundred and fifty Years after that, the *Lex Cornelia*, another *Roman* Law, was made, and is usually quoted as a Law against Sorcery. And it was indeed against Poisoning,

& mala Sacrificia, and was made when 170 *Roman* Women of the better Quality, were condemned for real poisoning those that they had a mind to remove. See *Livy*, *Dec.* I. *l.* 8.

The next Law, that I know of, was made by *Constantine* the first Christian Emperor. His Law requir'd, that they should be punish'd if they used Charms to do hurt; but it should be lawful to use them for restoring Health, or preserving the Fruits of the Earth. *In Cod. Justiniano, lib.* 9. *tit.* 18. *l.* 4. *Eorum est Scientia punienda, & severissimis meritò legibus vindicanda, qui Magicis accincti artibus, aut contra salutem Hominum moliti, aut pudicos animos ad libidinem deflexisse deteguntur. Nullis vero criminationibus implicanda sunt Remedia humanis quæsita corporibus, aut in agrestibus locis innocenter adhibita Suffragia ne maturis Vindemiis metuerentur imbres, aut ventis, grandinisque lapidatione quaterentur, quibus non cujusquam salus aut æstimatio læderetur, sed quorum proficerent actus, ne divina munera & labores hominum sternerentur. Datum* 10 *Calend. Jun. Aquileiæ, Crispo & Constantino Coss.* That is, " Their Skill is to be condemned, and very deservedly punish'd in the severest manner, who " being furnish'd with Knowledge of the Magick " Arts, shall be discovered to have acted any " thing, either for the impairing of Man's Health, " or drawing chaste Minds to unlawful Love. " But no vexatious Actions are to be brought against Remedies that are sought for the Bodies " of Men; or against Charms that are innocently

"cently uſed in Countrey Places, for fear leſt "Storms, or Winds, or Hail, ſhould hurt the "forward Vineyards; or againſt any thing "whereby no Man's Health or Credit was loſt, "but the Gifts of God and Works of Men were "preſerved from Damage. *Dated at* Aquileia *the* 10th *of the Calends of* June, Criſpus *and* Conſtantine *being Conſuls.*

About a hundred Years after that, the Emperor *Leo* the Firſt abrogated this Law of *Conſtantine*'s, and forbad all uſe of them: *Totumque hoc Sortiariorum miniſterium, Impoſturam & Fallaciam appellat.* He called this whole Trade of Sorcery, *Impoſture* and *Deceit.* See *Lambert Danæus, Capite ſexto.*

Mr. *Tyrrel*, in his *Hiſtory of* England, *Vol.* 1. *B.* 5. *pag.* 340. ſaith, The 6th Law of King *Athelſtan* was againſt Witchcrafts, Enchantments, and ſuch like Deeds, that procure Death; that if any one of them be made away, and the thing cannot be denied, ſuch Practiſers ſhall be put to Death: But if they endeavour to purge themſelves, and be caſt by the Threefold *Ordeal*, they ſhall lie in Priſon a hundred and twenty Days; which ended, their Kindred may redeem them, by the Payment of 120 Shillings to the King: And farther pay to the Kindred of the Slain the full Valuation of the Party's Head; and then the Criminals ſhall alſo procure Sureties for their good Behaviour for the time to come. The *Saxon* Word for theſe Inchantments is *Liblacum*, which Mr. *Tyrrel* ſaith, ſignifies that ſort of Faſcination that is done by *Ligatures*, *Faſciæ*, or *Bands.*

The Law that is in force in many Parts of the *Empire*, and in *Holland*, is the *Constitutio Carolina*, the Regulation that *Charles* the Fifth made of those Matters. I have not been able to procure a particular Account of it at large, but by the Mention of it that I have met with in *Cautio Criminalis*, and other Authors, I find it was designed to moderate, and did actually slacken the vehement Prosecutions of the Inquisitors, by allowing the accused Person *Council*, and mitigating their *Torture*, and taking away the *Profit* that the Prosecutors had out of the forfeited Goods of condemn'd Persons.

In *France* these Cases are tried by an Edict that the late King of *France* put out in the Year 1672; since which I have been frequently told, that most Parts of the Nation have been free from Prosecutions of this sort. And Mr. *Calef*, in his forementioned Book concerning the Witchcrafts in *New England*, inserts a Deposition of one that had heard some *Indians* say, that they liked the *French* better than the *English*; for where the *French* were, they had no Witches. See this Case more at large in the 10th Chapter of this Book.

From the Laws of Nations, let us pass to the *Canons* of the Church.

The Council of *Ancyra*, in the Year 314, appointed five Years Penance to pretended *Prophets* and *Inchanters*, and *Fortune-Tellers*: And as long a Time of Penance to those that took them into their Houses to cure their Diseases. This is the Substance of the four and twentieth Canon

Canon of that Council. But besides this, there is found in ancient Copies, (and printed by *Gratian*, *Caranza*, and *Lancelot*, as the Declaration of this Council) that many wicked Women, deluded by the Illusions of the Devil, think they ride through the Air with *Diana* and *Herodias*, and a Multitude of Witches; and see sometimes sad, and sometimes joyful Sights: But all Priests ought to teach the People of God, that these were Dreams and false Illusions of the Devil: For who (continues this Council) can be so sottish, as to believe, that they are really done in the Body, and not only in the Spirit.

The Council of *Laodicea* in the Year 364, in the 36th Canon, excommunicates any Clergymen that should be *Magicians*, *Inchanters*, *Mathematici* or *Astrologers*.

The 6th General Council in *Trullo*, in the Year 692, made two Canons, the sixty and sixty first, against such as counterfeited *Possession* by the Devil, and *Fortune-Tellers*, and those that carry'd about Bears and other Creatures, and Calculators of Nativities, and Inchanters, and Charmers.

These Canons teach us, that such Wizzards deserve Punishment, as it is most certain they do: But by joining them with those known Cheats, I think, they intimate to us, that they thought them very like one another.

There are some other Canons that censure them without defining their Art. But that which I reckon to have set this Point of Witchcraft upon the Foot that it stands on now, was something

thing leſs than either Law or Canon. It was that *Bull* that I mention'd before of Pope *Innocent* the VIIIth, in the Year 1484, a little before the Reformation, when the Ignorance and Superſtition of Popery were at the height. It was directed to the Inquiſitors of *Almain*, &c. and empower'd them to diſcover and have them burnt *pro Strigiatûs Hæreſi,* for the Hereſy of Witchcraft.

See the Bull it ſelf before the *Malleus Maleficarum.*

Innocentius Epiſcopus Servus Servorum Dei, ad futuram rei memoriam, &c. Sanè nuper ad noſtrum non ſine ingenti moleſtiâ pervenit auditum, quòd in nonnullis partibus Alemannæ Superioris, necnon in Moguntin. Colon. Treveron. Saltzburg. & Bremen. Provinciis, Civitatibus, Terris, Locis, & Diœceſibus, complures utriuſque Sexûs Perſonæ, à fide Catholicâ deviantes, cum Dæmonibus, Incubis & Succubis abuti, ac ſuis Incantationibus, Carminibus, & Conjurationibus, aliiſque Nephandis Superſtitionibus, & Sortilegiis, exceſſibus, criminibus, & delictis, mulierum partus, animalium Fœtus, Terræ Fruges, Vinearum uvas, & Arborum Fructus, necnon homines, mulieres, pecora, pecudes, & alia diverſorum generum animalia, vineas, quoque pomaria, prata, paſcua, blada, frumenta, & alia terræ legumina perire, ſuffocari, & extingui, facere & procurare, ipſoſque homines, mulieres, jumenta, pecora, Pecudes, & animalia diris tam intrinſecis quàm extrinſecis doloribus & tormentis afficere & excruciare,

cruciare, ac eosdem homines ne gignere, & mulieres ne concipere, virosque ne uxoribus, & mulieres ne viris actus conjugales reddere valeant impedire. Fidem præterea ipsam, &c. abnegare.

" *Innocent*, Bishop, a Servant of the Servants " of God, in perpetual Memory of the Thing, " *&c.* It is come to our Ears, that great Numbers of both Sexes, careless of their own Salvation, and falling from the Catholick Faith, " are not afraid to abuse their own Bodies, with " Devils that serve to both Sexes: And with " their Inchantments, Charms, and Sorceries, " they vex and afflict Man and Beast, both with " inward and outward Pains and Tortures: They " render Men and Women impotent for Generation: They destroy the Births of Women, " and the Increase of Cattel: They blast the " Corn of the Ground, the Grapes of the Vines, " the Fruit of Trees, and the Grass and Herbs " of the Fields, *&c.*

Nos igitur, &c. Opportunis Remediis, prout nostro incumbit officio, providere volentes, &c. Autoritate Apostolicâ tenore præsentium statuimus, &c. Quemlibet eorum, &c. Hujusmodi inquisitionis officium exequi, ipsasque personas quas in præmissis culpabiles repererint, juxta earum demerita, corrigere, incarcerare, punire, & mulctare, &c. He adds, That although *Henr. Institor.* and *Jacob. Sprenger* were deputed Inquisitors for this Matter by his Apostolical Authority, *Tamen nonnulli Clerici & Laici illarum partium, quærentes plura sapere*

ſapere quàm oporteat, &c. Ad perſonarum earundem punitionem admitti non debere, pertinaciter aſſerere non erubeſcunt, &c. Per Apoſtolica ſcripta mandamus, &c. Moleſtatores & impedientes & contradictores quoſlibet & rebelles cujuſcunque dignitatis, ſtatûs, gradûs, præeminentiæ, nobilitatis, & excellentiæ, aut conditionis, fuerint; per excommunicationis, ſuſpenſionis, ac alias etiam formidabiliores ſententias, cenſuras, pœnas, &c. aggravare & reaggravare authoritate noſtrâ procures; invocato ad hoc, ſi opus fuerit, Auxilio Brachii Sæcularis, &c. Datum Romæ, &c. 1484.

" We therefore, according to our Duty, being deſirous to apply fit Remedies to ſo great an Evil, do by our Apoſtolical Authority appoint by theſe Preſents, *&c.* that the Perſons aforeſaid ſhall execute the Office of Inquiſition, and correct, impriſon, puniſh, and fine, *&c.* all Perſons that ſhall be found guilty of the Crimes aforeſaid, *&c.* And whereas many, both of the Clergy and Laity, ſeeking to be wiſe above what is fit, did not bluſh to aſſert, that the Perſons were not to be proſecuted in thoſe Parts, *&c.* We command all Oppoſers, Contradictors, or Hinderers of thoſe Proſecutions, of whatſoever State, Dignity, Excellence, or Pre-eminence they may be, to be excommunicated, or ſuſpended, as Occaſion ſhall require, or puniſh'd with greater or more formidable Puniſhments; and if there be need, that the ſecular Arm be call'd in to help. Given at *Rome*, in the Year of the Incarnation of our Lord 1484.

From

From this time the Notions of Witchcraft were very groſs, and the Proſecutions bloody, and many poor Proteſtants (called then *Albigenſes* and *Waldenſes)* were involv'd in the Trouble. For two or three Ages they were continually accuſing, condemning, and burning them in one Place or another. To the great leſſening Mens Faith in God's Providence, they charged their Froſts, Tempeſts, Plagues, and Diſeaſes, upon their Witches; and dug many out of their Graves, that by burning their Bodies, they might diſſolve their Charms. Whole Towns were ready to leave their Habitations for fear of Witches; but ſome Towns were ſo wiſe as to chaſe the Inquiſitors from amongſt them. But new *Bulls* from *Rome*, and Notions of Hereſy, and the Difficulties in the Caſe, and the Superſtitions of the People, gave them new Footing, that the Calamity continued long, and they had greater Number of Executions under Pretence of that Crime than had been in any Age before them. I venture to make that Obſervation with the more Aſſurance, not only becauſe I have put down their Numbers, Names and Places, in the *Chronological Table*, in the ſecond Chapter of this Book; but alſo, becauſe I find the Writers of that Age ſtudy for Cauſes which might be the Reaſon why they had ſo many Witches above former Times. The Reaſon they aſſign is: That their Age was a Time of great Illumination, and therefore God permitted the Devil the more Power, that their Temptations might be proportionable to their Talents: But the Reaſon I muſt give is, That it

was an Age of Superſtition and Ignorance; and their own Credulity and Folly, and joining Witchcraſt with Hereſy, made them appear ſo many, when there were in reality no more that at another time. And as that Century is the Time from which the Defenders of the vulgar Notions do at this time fetch their greateſt Authorities, I will add ſome Obſervations concerning the State of that Age, and the particular Arguments with which they maintain'd their Opinions.

1. The Authority of theſe Inquiſitors was not grounded in this Matter upon any Canon of a Council, but upon a Pope's Epiſtle, or Bull in that Age, which we count the thickeſt Darkneſs of Popery. It was about thirty Years before the Beginning of the Reformation.

2. Their Heads were full of Romances, and Legends, and Spirits, and ſuperſtitious melancholy Notions. *Gerſon*, a learned Chancellor of the Univerſity of *Paris*, ſays, one might ſee thouſands martyrizing their own Bodies, by tearing the Fleſh, and their Blood running. I quote this out of *Caſaubon* of *Credulity* and *Incredulity*, p. 13.

3. In their Books upon this Subject, *Thomas Aquinas*, or the *Pope*'s *Bull*, or a Story out of the *Golden Legend*, is a ſufficient Solution of a Difficulty, and the uſual End of an Argument. As for Inſtance, I find they were much entangled about the Caſe of Transformation. The Council of *Aquileia* had determined, that the Devil could not really change a Man or Woman into any other Creature: But the Confeſſions of the

the Witches (which was the chief Evidence upon which they convicted them) contradicted this. They affirmed, that they were changed into *Cats*, and went into Houses through the same little Holes that Cats went thro'.

If they were changed into Asses, they carried Burdens like other Asses; if into Wolves, they were seen like Wolves, they ran into the Woods and worried Sheep, and some of them were killed by Dogs. When a Cloyster of *Nuns* were transformed into *Squirrels*, they said they ran up the Trees, and hung upon the Ends of the small Boughs. Now, how can all this be, and their Confessions of them be allowed good, and yet they be in their own Shape all this while unaltered? This is a Difficulty to us Protestants, but not so great to Papists, because in Transubstantiation as much as this is done. They see and eat the Sacramental Bread like a Wafer, and yet it is a Man. And I see several of them close this Case of Transformations with the Legend of St. *Macarius*. There was a Man, they say, whose Wife was bewitched, and changed into a Mare. Her Husband and some others brought her to that Saint, and he saw her a true Woman, at the same time that they saw her a Mare; and he sprinkled her with Holy Water, and then they saw the same.

Remigius, l. 2. *c.* 1.

To give one Instance more. Many Witches of those Times did certainly confess, that they were carried through the Air into Foreign Parts, and revell'd in the best Wine in the Prince's Cellars; then they strook the Hogsheads with their

Rods, and immediately they were full again. At other Times, they said, they danced in a green Meadow, and killed a fat Ox; and when they had eaten him, they put his Bones into his Hide, and tied the four Corners, then ſtrook it with their Wands, and the Ox would riſe up, and go to his Fellows. Now to us this is a puzzling ſtrange Caſe; but they ſolve it eaſily by the Legend of St. *Germain*, who did juſt the ſame by a poor Man's Calf, when he and his Friends had eaten him up; only they ſay, St. *Germain* did it in Reality, and the Devil only in Appearance. And *Barth. de Spina*, in the ſeventh Chapter of *Quæſt. de Strigibus*, tells us five ſeveral Ways whereby the Devil may make both the Witches and the Owner of the Ox believe the Thing. One of the five Ways is, that the Devil himſelf may enter into the Hide, and walk about in it like an Ox for ſome Days, and then pretend to be ſick and die, and the Owner cannot know but that the Ox died his fair Death.

4. When the Abſurdity and Impoſſibility of ſuch Things was objected, they frequently quoted the Fictions of the Heathen Poets for Examples. The Soldiers of *Ulyſſes*, they ſaid, were changed by *Circe* into Hogs, and *Diomedes* into Birds; *Iphigenia*, they ſay, was changed into a *Doe*; and *Lycaon* was transformed by *Jupiter* into a *Wolf*. And *Orpheus* and *Amphion* are quoted as really drawing the Stones and Trees by their Muſick and Verſes.

Adv. I wiſh you do not miſtake their *Romances* for their *Hiſtories*. Pray, who are your Authors?

Clerg.

Clerg. Not very good ones, if you will take my Opinion of them; but they are ſuch as muſt not be rejected by thoſe that defend the Witchcrafts of thoſe Times; for they were the Inquiſitors and Judges that condemn'd them; and I do not ſee but they defend their Opinions with the ſame Subtilty that other Men defend theirs: But the Age was unlearn'd, and the Religion ſuperſtitious, and their Legends and falſe Principles led them wrong.

5. The caſting Evidence in moſt Tryals was, the Confeſſion of the Parties, and the Confeſſions were drawn from them by cruel Tortures. *Wierus* ſays, he ſaw them pour hot Oil upon the Legs of ſome; others were burnt with Candles under their Arm-holes. Some endured the Torture three Times over, before they would confeſs: And *Remigius*, who had condemned and executed nine hundred, brings it as an Argument why Tortures ſhould be uſed; that ſcarce any one was known to be brought to Repentance and Confeſſion but by thoſe Means, and therefore he ſaid, their Pains were their Bleſſings.

The ingenious Author of *Cautio Criminalis*, who was an Eye-witneſs of moſt of the Facts that he mentions, imputes the great Numbers of their *German* Witches to this; and ventures to ſay, that if they invented a new Crime, never committed by Man, and examined People by the ſame Tortures that were uſed to diſcover Witches, he would be burnt himſelf, if they had not as many Confeſſions of that.

 6. Their

6. Their Skill in *Criticism* was about the same rate with their *Philosophy* and *History*. I will give you but two or three Instances for Samples. One of them giving the Reason how it came to pass, that there were so many *Women* that were Witches, more than *Men* that were Wizzards, fetches an Argument from the Derivation of the Word *Fæmina*. For, he saith, it comes from *Fe* and *Minus*. *Fe* is the same, he saith, as *Fi*, and *Fi* stands for *Fides*; and thence comes the Word *Fæmina quia Minorem Fidem habent*. The same Author gives us the Derivation of *Diabolus*; and he lays two before us to chuse of. One is *Diabolus quasi Defluens*, because he fell. In the other he considered, that it being a *Greek* Word, it would be better to derive it from the *Greek*; and therefore he fetches from *Dia duo*, and *Bolos Morsellus*, because he destroys both Body and Soul like two Morsels. That they may make the more Mention of Devils in the *Old Testament*, they interpret the *Philistines* to be *Spirits*. *Dabo te in manus Palæstinorum, id est, Dæmonum*.

Jurym. I went long enough to School to know better than this comes to. Either you banter us, or else these must be mean obscure Authors.

Clerg. My Author for these Criticisms is *Hen. Institor*. Part 1. Quest. 4. and Quest. 6. and he and *Sprenger* are the two Judges in the Inquisition, to whom Pope *Innocent* directed his famous *Bull*, which you find two or three Leaves before. And which is more than this, he is the first Author in the first *Tome* of the *Malleus Maleficarum*,

Maleficarum, which is one of the Books that Mr. *Baxter*, in his Preface to *Mr.* Mather's *Memorable Providences*, ſends us to, with the Declaration of his Opinion, *That if* Sadducees *were not mad with Incredulity, thoſe Books muſt convince them*; whereas I think there is no doubt, but that it is the great Folly of ſuch like Books that makes ſo many *Sadducees* as there are. A Man can hardly be a *Sadducee*, but he muſt be an *Atheiſt* alſo; but when Religion is clogg'd with ſuch bloody and ſilly Superſtitions, it tempts Men to be both. And therefore, without adding more Obſervations upon thoſe Popiſh Inquiſitors, I muſt conclude, That in my Opinion it ſtill holds true, that the great Numbers of ſuppos'd Witches that were burnt in that Age, were owing to the Ignorance, and falſe Principles, and Superſtitions of that Time.

Learned *Roman Catholicks* cannot reaſonably be offended, that for the preſerving our own People from the like miſerable Superſtitions, we lay before them the plain Matter of Fact as it was in that Age, while an unlearn'd Night of Ignorance lay upon both their Church and ours. Many of their own Writers have ſpoken of it with as much Freedom, and in particular *Fran. Belleforeſt*, a learned *French* Hiſtorian, being griev'd to ſee many innocent Men and Women daily hang'd, drown'd, and tormented, as if they had cauſed a Diſeaſe upon Cattel through all *Europe:* He ends his Additions upon *Nicolas Gilles* with this Sentence, *Tanta jam Stultitia oppreſſit miſerum Mundum, ut nunc ſic abſurdè*

ſurdè Res credantur à Chriſtianis, quales nunquam antea ad credendum poterat quiſquam ſuadere Paganis. (i. e.) " That ſo great Folly " did then oppreſs the miſerable World, that " *Chriſtians* believed greater Abſurdities than " could ever be impoſed upon the *Heathens*". I quote this out of another learned Papiſt, *Gabriel Naude*, in the 7th Chapter of his *Apology for great Men, who had been falſely accuſed of Magick.* And I reckon it was the mighty Credulity of the World in theſe and ſuch like Caſes, that *Cervantes* and *Rabelais* expoſed in the comical Hiſtories of *Don Quixot* and *Pantagruel:* And perhaps that way of dealing with them was more proper than grave Arguments.

C H A P. XIV.

Some Remarks concerning the Occaſion of our preſent Statute.

Adv. WELL, I care not much if I grant you, that theſe Foreign Laws and *Popiſh* Authorities ſhall ſtand for nothing; for tho' I mention'd them, becauſe Mr. *Baxter*, and moſt other Writers upon this Subject, lay much Weight upon them; yet I muſt own, that in a Caſe where the Lives of the King's Subjects and our own Fellow-Chriſtians are concern'd, it is dangerous to ſharpen the Proſecutions by the Opinions and Practices of thoſe ignorant and bloody

bloody Times. But what will you say to our own Act of Parliament, that carries this Point one Step farther than the Pope's Bull, and supposes that the Witches *feed* and *reward*, that is, I suppose, give suck to evil Spirits. And take notice, that your own *Chronological* Table shews us, that a Statute against Witchcraft hath passed our Parliament three several Times; in the 33^{d} of *Henry* VIII. in 5th of Queen *Elizabeth*, and in the 1st of King *James* I. which is the Law that is now in Force in your Part of the Nation.

Clerg. And yet I am persuaded, you will not be able to shew, that they had one Witch, either before them, or in any part of the Nation, at any of those Times; but the Law was passed upon other Occasions.

In the 33^{d}. of *Henry* VIII. I do not meet with any Tryal or Execution of any one Witch; but many had a cheating way of getting Money, by pretending to tell Fortunes, by comparing Gentlemen's Coats of Arms with the Letters of their Names: And the Lord *Hungerford* had been so weak as to go to one of them, to know how long the King should live: And he lost his Head for it in this very 33^{d} Year of that King's Reign. Now in the latter part of that Year, and therefore in Probability, upon the Occasion of it, the Parliament passed two Laws against such People. The Statute that you mentioned against *Conjuration* and *Witchcraft*, and another against *false Prophecies* upon Occasion of Arms, Fields, or Names.

Then we must consider, that this happen'd in that part of the King's Life when he was severe against the *Protestants*, on purpose to convince the *Papists*, that tho' he had cast off the Pope's Supremacy, he was a *Papist* still, and would have Laws in *England* that should do the same Things that the Pope's *Bull* did in *Popish* Countries. For that Reason, but two Years before he had made that cruel Law of the *Six Articles*, and *Bonner* had at that Time burnt several. And that this Law against Witchcraft was brought in by the *Popish* Party for a Side Blow to the *Protestants*, seems plain to me, because the *Preamble* to that Statute saith, *That the Persons that had done these Things had dug up, and pulled down an infinite Number of Crosses.* And in the Body of the Statute it is said, *or, for despite of Christ, or for lucre of Money, dig or pull down any Cross or Crosses.* Now who were they that pulled down the Crosses in those Times? Were they the Witches or Fortune-tellers, or were they not *Protestants*, that thought that it was the only effectual Way of curing the gross Superstitions of those Times?

To make short of this Argument.—The *Papists* in other Nations had given the *Papists* of ours a cruel Example of this Way of extirpating Heresy. For it was an Opinion advanc'd amongst them, that most *Hereticks* and *Protestants* had *evil Spirits* in them. They call'd *Luther*, *Wierus*, *Berengarius*, *Wickliff*, *Huss*, and many others, *Wizzards* and *Conjurers*. Our *English* Priests propagated amongst their People the same Opinion. The

The Jesuit *Delrio* saith, that from the Time of our Reformation, we were over-run with Witches. For he saith, that Witchcraft goes along with our Heresy, as Madness with a Fever. *See the Preface to his Disquisitiones Magicæ.* Pope *Adrian* VI. in his *Decretal Epistle* concerning Witchcraft, calls it *Hæresis Strigiatus*, and describes many of those Witches that he meant, as *a Sect deviating from the Catholick Faith*, &c. *denying their Baptism, and shewing Contempt of the Ecclesiastical Sacraments, and especially of that of the* Eucharist, *treading Crosses under their Feet, and taking the Devil for their Lord, destroyed the Fruits of the Earth by their Enchantments, Sorceries, and Superstitions.* See *Barthol. de Spina.* Ch. 3. This was a *Trap* that would catch a *Protestant* as well as a *Wizzard*, and take him off without ever letting the World know what he dy'd for. *Scot* saith, *They melted away many Protestants by this Means.* And this Statute of *Henry* VIII. being made at that Time when the *Papists* prevailed; and expresly joining that dangerous Clause of their pulling down Crosses, with their Acts of Witchcraft; I cannot but think, that one Reason of its being made, was, that it might be a Hank upon the Reformers.

Adv. I believe you cannot name one Protestant, that died by that Law.

Clerg. Nor can you, I believe, name one Witch. I am apt to think it was a Law never executed; but I count it a Snare ready laid. And I am the more of this Mind, because the Reformers abrogated

rogated this amongst the other severe Laws that had been made against them, the very first Year that they had Power, *(i. e.)* in the first of *Edward* VI. Then you may observe farther, that in that part of the Statute that points at Witchcraft and Conjurations, tho' there is one Expression that supposes real Mischief done, there are three that plainly express much Vanity and Cheat in their magical Pretensions. First it is, said, they pretended to understand and find hid Treasure. Then after the mention of Witchcrafts, and Enchantments, and Sorceries, it is added, for the Execution of their said *false Devices* and *Practices*, and a little after—Giving Faith and Credit to such *fantastical Practices*. And therefore I think that Act of Parliament doth no ways prove, that the Makers of it believed much Reality in their Art, but very great Wickedness, and many bad Consequences.

The next time that a Statute against Witchcraft passed our Parliament, was the 5th of Queen *Elizabeth*. In that Year, or near that Time, I do not meet with so much as one Witch either executed, or tried; but *Cambden* tells us, that the Countess of *Lenox*, and the Earl her Husband, and *Anthony Pool*, and his Brother, and *Anthony Fortescue* were condemned for Treason, and freely confess'd the Conspiracy; but said, it was not intended to take Place in the Queen's Life; but they had learn'd from some conjuring Wizzards, that the Queen would not live out that Year, and they had prepared their Matters to take Place at her Death. This Year

(and

(and therefore I ſuppoſe upon this Occaſion) the Parliament renewed the Law againſt *fantaſtick Propheſies* upon *Arms*, and *Fields* and *Badges*. And the ſame Day they paſſed an Act againſt Conjurations, Witchcraft, and Sorcery. And in the ſame Seſſion they made a Law to baniſh *Gypſies* that pretended to tell Fortunes by *Palmiſtry*. And ſome time after this they made another Law againſt thoſe that ſhould calculate the *Queen's Nativity*.

When we hear of ſo many Laws of this Sort in ſo wiſe a Reign as Queen *Elizabeth*'s was; we muſt conſider, that the Reformation had been made but a few Years before; and therefore the Nation was not got clear from the Influence of Popery and Ignorance. Tho' the Laws about Religion were chang'd, the Inhabitants of the Countrey were the ſame, and the *Monks* and *Nuns*, being turn'd looſe amongſt the People, infected their Minds with Superſtitious Tales: And tho' thoſe Follies are uſually Matter of Jeſt, while they keep among the vulgar, yet when they happen to find Faith amongſt the Great Ones, and the Kindred of the Crown, they often draw them to the attempting great Changes. For the high Stations of the great do not ſecure either them or their Children, ſounder Judgments than their Neighbours, nor free them from the Superſtitions and Credulity of the meaneſt: And when their high Spirits and great Intereſts are acted by vain Hopes and Tales, they ſoon burſt the Bonds that preſerve a Nation's Peace. Now the Government in that Age having been vex'd with

with continual Plots and bold Attempts, that ſprang out of thoſe Cauſes, they found it neceſſary to ſhut every Door againſt them. But I conceive we cannot from thoſe Laws make any certain Determination, how much reality they thought there was in their Sorcery more than their Palmiſtry; nor whether their Invocations of Spirits and Circles for Conjuration was not as mere a Cheat as their calculating Nativities. And beſides, I do not find, that theſe Points underwent any ſevere Examination of learned Men in that Age, but rather paſs'd the Two Houſes without much diſcuſſion, as ſometimes ſome Laws happen to do. I have conſulted the Journal of the Two Houſes of *Parliament* in that *Reign, as it was publiſh'd* out of the Manuſcripts of Sir *Symonds D'Ewes*, and the largeſt Note that I find is this; Thurſday *the* 11th *of* February *Three Bills, of no great Moment, had each one Reading; of which the laſt being the Bill for Servants robbing their Maſters, Buggery, Invocation of Evil Spirits, Inchantments,* &c. *to be Felony, was read the third Time, and paſs'd the Houſe.*

Then it may be obſerv'd farther, That as this Law had nothing of feeding and rewarding Spirits, as ours hath now; ſo it was much more merciful than our preſent Statute. For if there were ſome Acts of Sorcery or Witchcraft prov'd; yet if they had not killed any Perſon, the Penalty for the firſt Conviction was only a Year's Impriſonment, and Pillory four Times in that Year.

That Statute which is in Force now, was made in

in the 1st Year of King *James* the First. The Parliament, that Year, repealed the Queen's more merciful Law, *and made this new one*, as the Preamble expresses it, for the more severe punishing of it: But in this Juncture I do not find any one *Witch*, either before them, or in any part of the Nation; nor doth the Preamble make mention of any *Increase* of such Persons amongst us. It is true, that about nine Years before, the *Witches* of *Warbois* had been hanged, and some others before them; and *Hartly*, in the Year 1597. But for two or three Years last, the Magistrates had been rather engag'd in discovering Frauds and Impostures, and had punished several such: And the *Convocation*, this same Session, made our prudent *Canon*, that suspends any Clergyman, that should pretend to cast out Devils without *Licence under Seal*: But the Parliament, that same Year, enacted our present Statute. And if I may be permitted to offer my Conjecture at the Reason for changing the Law we had before for this, the best Guess I can make is this;

King *James* the First was a Prince of good natural Parts, and as many *Great Persons* have, so did he, take as much Pleasure in the Studies of Learning, as in any of the Advantages of his Station: But he had the Misfortune to be engag'd in dark and difficult Subjects in his younger Years. Before he was twenty, he ventur'd to interpret the *Revelation*. In the twenty third Year of his Age, he had the Examination of *Agnes Sympson*, commonly call'd, *The Wise*

Wife

Wife of Keith, and of ſeveral others, who confeſs'd themſelves guilty of Witchcraft. The King had the Honour of being acknowledged, a *Man of God*, that their Spirits had no Power over: And Archbiſhop *Spotſwood* ſaith in his Hiſtory, *That in* Scotland, *that Winter was ſpent in the Examination of Witches.* Two or three Years after that, King *James* publiſh'd his *Dæmonologia*; that is, (as appears by the Name and Book together) *The Doctrine of Devils and Witchcraft:* And coming to our Crown ſome few Years after, every one would be forward to read and admire the King's Book upon ſo curious a Subject: And our Statute being made in the very firſt Parliament that he held in *England*, I cannot forbear thinking that it was the King's Book and Judgment, more than any encreaſe of Witches, that influenc'd the Parliament to the changing their old Law.

I am the more confirm'd in this Opinion, becauſe the very Body of our Statute agrees with the Confeſſion of the *Scotch Witch* that he examin'd. For, as we find it in Mr. *Glanvil*'s Collection, *Agnes Symſon* told him, *She had been at Church at Eleven of the Clock at Night, with above a hundred other Witches. They had black Candles,* ſhe ſaid, *ſet round the Pulpit; and the Devil in a black Gown and Hat, preach'd to them, that they ſhould keep his Commandment, of doing all the Ill they could. Then they open'd three Graves, and took the Fingers, and Toes, and Noſes of the dead People: and ſhe had a Winding-Sheet, and*

two Joints for her Share. After that they kiſs'd the Devil's Back-ſide, and went home. Now whether the old Woman had been at ſome Burying, and dream'd of the Funeral, I know not: But our Statute ſeems plainly to be taken from this; for the Words are, *If any ſhall take up any dead Man, Woman, or Child, out of his, or her, or their Grave, or any other Place, where the dead Body reſteth, or the Skin, Bone, or any other part of any dead Perſon, to be employ'd or us'd in any manner of Witchcraft, Inchantment, Charm, or Sorcery*, &c. Now comparing theſe Things together, I cannot but think, that if King *James* himſelf was not the firſt Mover and Director in this Change of the Statute, yet there might probably be a Deſign of making Court to the King by it. And I muſt add, that the Tranſlation of our *Bible* being made ſoon after, by King *James*'s particular Deſire, hath receiv'd ſome Phraſes that favour the vulgar Notions more than the old Tranſlation did. At that unhappy Time was brought in that groſs Notion of a *Familiar Spirit*, tho' the *Hebrew* Word hath no Epithet at all, and ſhould rather have been tranſlated into ſome of thoſe Words that ſignify a cheating Ventriloquiſt. Some other Changes were made beſides that; and, conſidering its Excellence in general, I cannot but impute its Diſadvantage in this Reſpect, to the great Reverence they had to the King's Judgment, and the Teſtimony he gave them of Facts from *Scotland*.

Jurym. I am the apter to believe this Ac-

count, because I have often heard, that our Law did come from thence.

Clerg. And whether it did or no, it is not greatly material. We are free for all that to use our own Reason in judging, which Notion of Witchcraft agrees best with the Nature of Things, as we see them before our Faces: And if the more cautious Notions be the more probable and safe, we are free to take them, tho' our Statute be grounded upon Supposition of the Vulgar. I have heard, that King *James* himself came off very much from these Notions in his elder Years; but when *Laws* and *Translations* are fix'd, it is a difficult Thing to change them.

Jurym. There is one Question which you have partly answer'd already; and yet I desire leave to put it more particularly. If these Notions that you have defended were to prevail, they would make the Prosecutions of Witches very difficult; and would not the Number of such People encrease upon us to our great Danger?

Clerg. Through the Wisdom of our Government, we have had a pretty large Experience of this way of dealing with them; and let Mr. *Advocate* be judge, whether we are not as free from Witches here in *England*, as they are in *Scotland*, where, till of late, they have been more zealous in their Prosecutions? Are not our good *Women* deliver'd with as much Ease and Safety now, as they were in 1559, when it was put into the Articles of Visitations, that they should enquire, *Whether any Sorcerers hurt the Women in the Time of Travel?*

Do

Do not our Frosts, and Distempers, and Diseases upon Cattle, pass off as kindly, and as soon, as they did in *Germany*, when they *dug* Witches out of their *Graves* to dissolve their Charms? And therefore I am not in fear of any Damage on that side. Not that I would have our cheating *Fortune-tellers*, *Jugglers*, pretended *Conjurers*, *Witch-Doctors*, *Gypsies*, *Calculators* of *Nativities*, or any that are guilty of cruel *Curses* and *Threatnings*, or any real *outward Acts* of *Sorcery*, to be suffer'd unpunish'd. I am so far from that, that I heartily wish the *Grand Juries* would present such Misdemeanors, and have them punished more severely than they are: But then I am so far from wishing to see eager Prosecutions of *old Women* upon the vulgar Notions, and by the common Tryals, that I rather wish there was a Bar put, that they might not break out upon us in any unsettled Time. These Doctrines have often been made Party-Causes both in our own and other Nations. One side lays hold of them as Arguments of greater *Faith* and *Orthodoxy*, and closer Adherence to Scripture, and calls the other *Atheists*, *Sadducees* and *Infidels*. The People easily fall in with such popular Pretences; and not only those that stand in the Prosecutor's Way, and a few suspected Persons are sacrific'd, but sometimes Governments are shaken, if they oppose their Notions. Our present Freedom from these Evils are no Security that such a Time may not turn up in one Revolution or another; and it may be worth our Considerati-on, whether in such a Juncture, the Lives of

Men would not be better secur'd under the Fence of a wise and well-consider'd Law, rather than under a superstitious, tho' well-meant Statute. But this is more proper for those to whose care such Works belong; and to their Judgment I leave it, asking Pardon for what I have said, if this Suggestion be thought too much.

CHAP. XV.

Being a Collection of some notorious IMPOSTURES *Detected.*

Jurym. I Begin to think that you have gone through all Points that need clearing in this Matter. You have consider'd the Case of natural Causes, and shewn how much farther they reach than is generally thought. You have trac'd it historically, and shewn the first Rise, Increase and Declension of those Notions. You have examin'd and confuted the Principles that they were grounded upon. You have clear'd the Texts of Scripture that relate to this Matter; and given Account how we came to have such an *Act of Parliament*; and yet let me tell you, That the Word *Witch* in Scripture, with two or three odd Accidents, and a frightful Story, shall weigh down all your Arguments with our Country People; and I am afraid there is no way to prevent it.

Clerg. No way of Reasoning and Argument, for that never comes before many of them; and

if

if it did, it is too long and difficult for them to judge of: But there is a ſhorter, and yet a juſt Way, that would do it effectually, if Magiſtrates and wiſe Men will uſe it.

Adv. What Way may that be? For theſe Notions, and the cruel Executions that follow them, are not ſuch honourable or deſirable Things; but that even in *Scotland*, we ſhould be glad to be free from them, if we can be ſo, without loſing our Faith and Virtue.

Clerg. The Way that I mean will neither loſe nor leſſen either. It is only that which I have ſeveral Times hinted already, even a fair and impartial Execution of the Law, without reſpect of Perſons. Let forward and ſuperſtitious People feel a little of the effect of their own Notions.

As our excellent Lord Chief Juſtice hath let them know, that wilful Drowning is wilful Murder; let them find it ſo effectually in two or three Inſtances.

As it is not only my Judgment, but the Opinion of all that I have conſulted, That Scratching to draw Blood; Setting the Bottle and Urine; Burning of Cakes; Hanging of Blankets, &c. are Acts of Sorcery, and Charms to employ Spirits; and, according to ſome Notions, are implicit Compacts, and certainly within the Statute, and yet commonly practis'd by the Accuſers; though the Severity of the Law may be too hard to be let looſe upon them, let the gentleſt part of it, that of the Pillory, be put in Execution.

As they bring a very ſad Calamity, worſe than natural Death to the poor Creatures whoſe good Name they take away; let but the ſame Remedy be us'd that was at *Boſton* in *New-England*; clap but an Action of *Defamation* upon the Backs of thoſe that call *Witch*, and cannot prove their Words, and theſe will clear their Underſtandings, and make them take care to go upon ſober and accountable Grounds in Accuſations.

But as the Succeſs of this muſt be left to Time, and as my Neighbour rightly takes Notice, That with the generality of Mankind, a frightful Story weighs more than the cleareſt Reaſon; for their preſent Help, I will take that Courſe, which is the likelieſt Way that I know of; and that is, to ſet Story againſt Story. And therefore, beſide the Caſes which I have conſider'd, and, I hope, confuted already, I will give you ſome famous Relations of Impoſtures and Deluſions that have been detected beyond Doubt or Queſtion.

Adv. And then I ſuppoſe you will make your Inference; that becauſe there are a Multitude of *Briſtol* Stones, there are no true Diamonds in Nature.

Jurym. I pray, Mr. *Advocate*, dare not you ſay the Sea is ſalt, becauſe you have not taſted of all the Water? If there be an Error in this Caſe of Witchcraft, are you reſolv'd to keep it till you have a particular Confutation of every Tale that was ever told? You are in a bad Way, if that be your Reſolution; and therefore, I beg

beg of you, good Sir, to give us Account of thoſe Detections you mention'd.

Clerg. I will do it very willingly; for I think they are the proper cloſe and finiſhing Stroke of the Probation foregoing: And as our Forefathers took great Care to print and fix them for a Teſtimony of what they had ſeen in their Days; I think they ought to be preſerv'd with Diligence. When Truth is found out in any difficult Caſe, it ought to be preſerv'd with as much Care, as Ground gain'd from an Enemy: And as there is no Sect or Side, but which, in their Turns, have had their Share in theſe Miſtakes or Faults, I ſhall put them down near the Order of Time, as they have come to my Knowledge; and as I have not paſt over thoſe, where even our own Clergy have been concern'd, others will have more Reaſon to bear with Patience thoſe Relations that are needful for their future Caution.

The Firſt RELATION,

Shall be of the Maid of Kent, *in the Reign of* Henry *the* VIIIth. *taken out of the late Biſhop of* Salisbury's *Hiſtory of the* Reformation. Part I.

ELizabeth Barton *of* Kent, in the Pariſh of *Aldington*, being ſick, and diſtemper'd in her Brain, fell in ſome Trances, (it ſeems by the Symptoms they were Hyſterical Fits) and ſpoke many Words, that made great Impreſſions on

ſome about her, who thought her inſpired of God; and *Richard Maſter*, Parſon of the Pariſh, hoping to draw great Advantages from this, went to *Warham*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and gave him a large Account of her Speeches; who ordered him to attend her carefully, and bring him a farther Report of any new Trances ſhe might afterward fall into. But ſhe had forgot all ſhe ſaid in her Fits; yet the crafty Prieſt would not let it go ſo, but perſuaded her, that what ſhe ſaid, was by the Inſpiration of the Holy Ghoſt, and that ſhe ought to own that it was ſo. Upon which he taught her to counterfeit ſuch Trances, and to utter ſuch Speeches as ſhe had done before; ſo that after a while's Practice, ſhe became very ready at it. The Thing was much noiſed abroad, and many came to ſee her; but the Prieſt having a mind to raiſe the Reputation of an Image of the Bleſſed Virgin, which was in a Chapel within his Pariſh, that ſo Pilgrimages being made to it, he might draw thoſe Advantages from it that others made from their famed Images; he choſe for his Aſſociate one Doctor *Bocking*, a Canon of *Chriſt-Church* in *Canterbury*. Upon which they inſtructed her to ſay in her counterfeited Trances, that the Bleſſed Virgin had appeared to her, and told her ſhe could never recover, till ſhe went and viſited her Image in that Chapel. They had alſo taught her in her Fits, to make ſtrange Motions with her Body, by which ſhe was much disfigured, and to ſpeak many godly Words againſt Sin, and the new Doctrines, which were called Hereſies,

resies, as alſo againſt the King's Suit of Divorce. It was alſo noiſed abroad, on what Day ſhe intended to go and viſit the Image of the Virgin; ſo that about two Thouſand People were gathered together, and ſhe being brought to the Chapel, fell into her Fits, and made many ſtrange Grimaces, and Alterations of her Body, and ſpake many Words of great Piety, ſaying, That by the Inſpiration of God, ſhe was called to be a religious Woman, and that *Bocking* was to be her Ghoſtly Father. And within a little while ſhe ſeemed, by the Interceſſion of our Lady, to be perfectly recovered of her former Diſtempers, and ſhe afterwards profeſſed a religious Life: There were alſo violent Suſpicions of her Incontinency, and that *Bocking* was a Carnal as well as a Spiritual Father. She fell in many Raptures, and pretended ſhe ſaw ſtrange Viſions, heard heavenly Melody, and had the Revelation of many Things that were to come; ſo that great Credit was given to what ſhe ſaid, and People generally look'd on her as a Propheteſs, and among thoſe, the late Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* was led away with the reſt. A Book was writ of her Revelations and Prophecies, by one *Deering*, another Monk, who was taken into the Conſpiracy, with many others. It was alſo given out, That *Mary Magdalen* gave her a Letter that was writ in Heaven, which was ſhewed to many, being all writ in Golden Letters. She pretended, when the King was laſt at *Calais*, that he being at Maſs, an Angel brought away the Sacrament and gave it to her, being then

inviſibly

invisibly present, and that she was presently brought over the Sea to her Monastery again. But the Design of all these Trances was to alienate the People from their Duty to the King; for the Maid gave it out, that God revealed to her, *That if the King went on in the Divorce, and marry'd another Wife, he should not be King a Month longer, and in the Reputation of Almighty God, not one Hour longer, but should die a Villain's Death.* This she said was revealed to her, in answer to the Prayers she had put up to God, to know whether he approved of the King's Proceedings or not.

In *November* 1533, *Henry* the VIIIth being King at that time, ordered, that the Maid and her Complices, *Richard Master*, Doctor *Bocking*, *Richard Deering*, *Henry Gold*, a Parson in *London*, *Hugh Rich* an observant Fryar, *Richard Risby*, *Thomas Gold* and *Edward Twaites*, Gentlemen, and *Thomas Laurence*, should be brought into the Star-Chamber, where there was a great Appearance of many Lords. They were examined upon the Premises, and did all, without any Rack or Torture, confess the whole Conspiracy, and were adjudged to stand in St. *Paul*'s at the Sermon-time; and after Sermon, the King's Officers were to give every one of them his Bill of Confession, to be openly read before the People, which was done next *Sunday*, the Bishop of *Bangor* preaching, they being all set in a Scaffold before him. This publick manner was thought upon good grounds to be the best way to satisfie the People of the

Imposture

Imposture of the whole Matter; and it did very much convince them, that the Cause must needs be bad, where such Methods were used to support it.

Soon after that, on the 20th of *April*, 1534, the *Nun* and *Bocking*, *Master*, *Deering*, *Risby* and *Gold*, were brought to Tyburn; the *Nun* spake these Words, " Hither I am come to " die, and I have not been only the Cause of " my own Death, which most justly I have de- " served, but also I am the Cause of the Death " of all these Persons, which at this Time here " suffer. And yet to say the Truth, I am not " so much to be blamed, considering that it was " well known to these learned Men, that I was " a poor Wench without Learning, and there- " fore they might easily have perceived, that " the Things that were done by me, could " not proceed in such sort; but their Capa- " cities and Learning could right well judge " from whence they proceeded, and that they " were altogether feigned: But because the " Thing which I feigned was profitable to them, " therefore they much praised me, and bore me " in Hand, that it was the Holy Ghost, and " not I, that did them; and then I being puf- " fed up with their Praises, fell into a certain " Pride and foolish Fantasy with my self, and " thought I might feign what I would, which " Thing hath brought me to this Case; and for " which I now cry God and the King's High- " ness most heartily Mercy; and desire you all " good People, to pray to God to have Mer-

" cy

" cy upon me, and on all them that here suf-
" fer with me.

The Second Relation.

This following Detection is taken out of the Discovery of Witchcraft by Reginald Scot, *Esq*; lib. 7. c. 1, 2. *and is confirmed by Dr.* Harsnet, *in his Discovery of the fraudulent Practices of Mr.* Darrel. *Here first follows the Narrative as printed by the Actors,* October 13, Anno Domini, 1574.

Mildred, the base Daughter of *Alice Norrington*, and now Servant to *William Spooner* of *Westwell*, in the County of *Kent*, being of the Age of Seventeen Years, was possessed with Satan. On the 13th of *October*, 1574, about Two of the Clock in the Afternoon of the same Day, there came to the same *Spooner*'s House, *Roger Newman*, Minister of *Westwell*, *John Brainford*, Minister of *Kenington*, with others, whose Names are under-written, who made their Prayers unto God, to assist them in that needful Case; and then commanded Satan, in the Name of the eternal God, and of his Son *Jesus Christ*, to speak with such a Voice as they might understand, and to declare from whence

whence he came, but he would not ſpeak, but roared and cryed mightily: And tho' we did command him many times, in the Name of God, and of his Son *Jeſus Chriſt*, and in his mighty Power to ſpeak, yet he would not, until he had gone through all his Delays, as roaring, crying, ſtriving, and gnaſhing of Teeth, and otherwiſe, with mowing, and other terrible Countenances, and was ſo ſtrong in the Maid, that four Men could ſcarce hold her down. And this continued by the Space of almoſt Two Hours: So ſometimes we charged him earneſtly to ſpeak, and again praying unto God that he would aſſiſt us: At the laſt he ſpake but very ſtrangely, and that was thus; *He comes, he comes:* And that oftentimes he repeated; *and he goes, he goes:* And then we charged him to tell us who ſent him; and he ſaid, *I lay in her Way like a Log, and I made her run like Fire; but I could not hurt her:* And why ſo? ſaid we; *Becauſe God kept her*, ſaid he. We then cameſt thou to her? ſaid we; *To Night in her Bed*; ſaid he. Then we charged him as before, to tell what he was, and who ſent him, and what his Name was? At firſt he ſaid, the *Devil, the Devil:* Then we charged him as before; then he roared and cryed as before, and ſpake terrible Words, *I will kill her, I will kill her; I will tear her in pieces, I will tear her in pieces.* We ſaid, Thou ſhalt not hurt her: He ſaid, *I will kill you all:* We ſaid, Thou ſhalt hurt none of us all: Then we charged him as before: Then he ſaid, *You will give*

give me no Reſt: We ſaid, Thou ſhalt have none here; for thou muſt have no Reſt within the Servants of God: But tell us, in the Name of God, what thou art, and who ſent thee? Then he ſaid, *He would tear her in pieces:* We ſaid, Thou ſhalt not hurt her: Then he ſaid again, *He would kill us all:* We ſaid again, Thou ſhalt hurt none of us all; for we are the Servants of God; and we charged him as before: And he ſaid again, *Will you give me no Reſt?* We ſaid, Thou ſhalt have none here, neither ſhalt thou reſt in her; for thou haſt no right in her, ſince *Jeſus Chriſt* hath redeemed her with his Blood, and ſhe belongeth to him, and therefore tell us thy Name, and who ſent thee? He ſaid, *His Name was Satan:* We ſaid, Who ſent thee? He ſaid *Old Alice, Old Alice:* Which *Old Alice?* ſaid we; *Old Alice,* ſaid he: Where dwelleth ſhe? ſaid we; *In Weſtwell-ſtreet,* ſaid he. We ſaid, How long haſt thou been with her? *Theſe twenty Years,* ſaid he. We asked, Where ſhe did keep him? *In Two Bottles,* ſaid he: Where be they? ſaid we; *In the Backſide of her Houſe,* ſaid he: In what Place? ſaid we; *Under the Wall,* ſaid he: Where is the other? *In Kenington:* In what Place? ſaid we; *In the Ground,* ſaid he: Then we ask'd him, What ſhe did give him? he ſaid, *Her Will, her Will:* What did ſhe bid thee do? ſaid we; he ſaid, *Kill her Maid:* Wherefore did ſhe bid thee kill her? ſaid we; *Becauſe ſhe did not love her.* We ſaid, How long is it ago, ſince ſhe ſent thee to her? *More than a Year,* ſaid he: Where

Where was that? ſaid we; *At her Miſtreſs* Brainford's *at* Kenington, ſaid he: How oft wert thou there? ſaid we; *Many times*, ſaid he: Where firſt? ſaid we; *In the Garden*, ſaid he: Where the ſecond time? *In the Hall:* Where the third time? *In her Bed:* Where the fourth time? *In the Field:* Where the fifth time? *In the Court:* Where the ſixth time? *In the Water, where I caſt her into the Mote:* Where the ſeventh time? *In her Bed:* We asked him again, Where elſe? he ſaid, *In Weſtwell:* Where there? ſaid we? *In the Vicarage*, ſaid he: Where there? *In the Loft*: How cameſt thou to her? ſaid we; *In the Likeneſs of two Birds*, ſaid he: Who ſent thee to that Place? ſaid we; *Old Alice*, ſaid he: What other Spirit was with thee there? ſaid we; *My Servant*, ſaid he: What is his Name? ſaid we; he ſaid, *Little Devil:* What is thy Name? ſaid we; *Satan*, ſaid he: What doth old *Alice* call thee? ſaid we; *Partner*, ſaid he: What doth ſhe give thee? ſaid we; *Her Will*, ſaid he: How many haſt thou kill'd for her? ſaid we; *Three*, ſaid he: Who are they? ſaid we; *A Man and his Child*, ſaid he: What were their Names? ſaid we; *The Child's Name was* Edward, ſaid he: What more than *Edward?* ſaid we; *Edward Ager*, ſaid he: What was the Man's Name? ſaid we; *Richard*, ſaid he: What more? ſaid we; *Richard Ager*, ſaid he: Where dwelt the Man and the Child? ſaid we; *At Dig, at Dig*, ſaid he: This *Richard Ager* of *Dig*, was a Gentleman of forty Pounds Land by

by the Year; a very honeſt Man, but would often ſay he was bewitch'd, and languiſhed long before he died. Whom elſe haſt thou kill'd for her? ſaid we; Wolton's *Wife*, ſaid he: Where did ſhe dwell? *In Weſtwell*, ſaid he: What elſe haſt thou done for her? ſaid we; *What ſhe would have me*, ſaid he: What is that? ſaid we; *To fetch her Meat, Drink, and Corn*, ſaid he: Where hadſt thou it? ſaid we; *In every Houſe*, ſaid he: Name the Houſes? ſaid we; *At* Potman's, *at* Farm's, *at* Millen's, *at* Fuller's, *and at every Houſe*: After this, we commanded *Satan*, in the Name of *Jeſus Chriſt*, to depart from her, and never to trouble her any more, nor any Man elſe; then he ſaid, *He would go; he would go*; but he went not: Then we commanded him as before, with ſome more Words; then he ſaid, *I go, I go*; and ſo he departed: Then ſaid the Maid, He is gone, Lord have Mercy upon me; for he would have kill-ed me; and then we kneel'd down, and gave God Thanks with the Maiden; praying that God would keep her from *Satan*'s Power, and aſſiſt her with his Grace. And noting this in a piece of Paper, we departed. *Satan*'s Voice did differ much from the Maid's Voice; and all that he ſpake was in his own Name. Subſcribed thus.

Witneſſes to this, that heard and ſaw this whole Matter, as followeth;

Roger Newman, Vicar of *Weſtwell*.
John Brainford, Vicar of *Kenington*.
Thomas

Thomas Taylor.
Henry Taylor's Wife.
John Taylor.
Thomas Frenchborn's Wife.
William Spooner.
John Frenchborn, and his Wife.

After this Account at large of her Case, Mr. *Scot* proceeds: Upon the Bruit of her Divinity, and miraculous Trances, she was convented before Mr. *Thomas Wotton* of *Bocton Malherb*, a Man of great Worship and Wisdom, and, for deciding and ordering of Matters, of rare and singular Dexterity; through whose discreet handling of the Matter, with the Assistance and Aid of *George Darrel*, Esq; being also a right, good, and discreet Justice of the same limit, the Fraud was found, and the Cozenage confessed, and she received condign Punishment: Neither was her Confession won, according to the Form of the *Spanish* Inquisition, through Extremity of Tortures, nor yet by Guile, or Flattery, nor by Presumptions, but through wise and perfect Trial of every Circumstance, the Illusion was manifestly disclosed.

After her due Tryal, she shewed her Feats, Illusions, and Trances, with the Residue of all her miraculous Works, in the Presence of divers Gentlemen of great Worship and Credit, at *Bocton Malherb*, in the House of the said Mr. *Wotton*.

Scot's *Discovery of Witchcraft*, Book VII. First and Second Chapters.

The Third RELATION.

Of the IMPOSTURE *of* William Somers *of* Nottingham, *pretended to be dispossess'd by Mr.* John Darrel.

IN this following Relation I must crave the Reader's Patience, tho' I be particular and large: For it is a Case that hath been famous, and often disputed. Our Seventy-second Canon was made immediately after it, and very much upon the account of that, and some Popish Impostures, printed in the *Compassionate Address to Papists*. And the Author of the *Compleat History of Witchcraft*, &c. hath now, after so many Years, reprinted the Depositions of seventeen Witnesses, to confirm the Truth of the Fact, without ever taking notice of those plain Detections that you will find after them: And as, I believe, it will both raise your Indignation at this Author, and let you see the Necessity there is, that it should be answer'd, I beg leave to take my Account from the beginning of Mr. *Darrel*'s Practice and foul Dealings in this Matter.

Mr. *John Darrel*, the chief Actor in what follows, was first enter'd into the *Study of the Common Law*. He spent one Year in it; but in the 30th Page of his Detection, he saith, God withdrew him from it, by laying a strange and extraordinary Sluggishness upon him in that Study.

dy. It is hard to guess, by what Rules of Scripture or sound Reason, he could conclude, that an extraordinary Sluggishness was an Indication, that Providence designed him for a Divine: It seems rather a Touch of that rash Enthusiastick Judgment, that troubled the World so much afterward. But however, the Notion was strong with him, that we find him soon after a Preacher amongst those, that, in that Age, were called *Puritans*; and his Behaviour in the Ministry was suitable to the Reason of his Entrance; for one of the first Works he undertook, was, a casting out of Devils. For when he lived at *Mansfield*, of the Age of four and twenty, one *Katherine Wright*, a Girl of seventeen, happened to have her Belly swell, and not like one with Child, but as having some hysterick Distemper, and a Motion sometimes in it; and going to a Well for Water, she fancied she saw a Child without Feet: After that she had Fits, and thought she saw Shapes and Apparitions: and she confessed afterwards, that finding that this made a severe Father-in-Law more kind, she made her Fits more, and worse than they were. This young Woman was brought to *Mansfield*, to young Mr. *Darrel*, who, some way or other, even then, had made himself known for a *Man of Hope*, as they express'd it, *for the relieving those that were distressed in that sort*. Now a wise Man would have thought, a young Woman, of that Age, swell'd in that manner, had had the *Green Sickness*, and that the Child without Legs, might be her own Image

in the Water: For when any see themselves in a Well, the Legs are out of Sight. But Mr. *Darrel*'s Notions led him the other way; for he gave his Opinion, that her Trouble was from the Devil: and he, and his Wife, with three or four of the Family, kept a Day of Prayer for her; and beginning at four of the Clock in the Morning, by Noon she was thought to be dispossess'd.

And to pass over many Follies that shew'd both great Ignorance and Presumption; one was, that upon the Suggestion of that Maid, he accus'd one *Margaret Roper*, for sending the Spirit into her by Witchcraft, and carrying her before one Mr. *Fouliamb*, a Justice of Peace; Mr. *Fouliamb* perceiving how Matters had been carry'd, discharg'd the poor Woman, and threatned to send him to Jail, if he demean'd himself no better.

Such a just Reproof, from a sober Magistrate, might have cur'd a young Man of such Enthusiastical ill-grounded Notions: And very likely it did for some time; for we find no more Actions of this sort till ten Years after. Then, being in a new Place, and Mr. *Fouliamb* being dead, he got a fresh Credit from the Boy of *Burton*; and the same Year he was thought to have dispossess'd seven in one Mr. *Starky*'s Family in *Lancashire*: and by them gave the *Common-Prayer* Book a great Foil: for they found by Experience, that *stinted* Prayers, read out of a Book, had little Effect upon the Spirits: but at conceived Prayers, the Parties were much

much troubled. But I will paſs over theſe Facts, and come to his two laſt; for if the firſt and laſt be found Counterfeits, I will truſt it to the Reader's Judgment to think, whether the middle was much better: and beſides, the laſt contains more Variety; for the Dæmoniack being a Fidler's Boy, that was ſtrong and nimble, and a crafty Mimick, the Devil was thought to ſhew himſelf more plainly in him; for in our modern Poſſeſſions, ſuch as the Dæmoniack is, ſuch is the Dæmon.

To come then to the Caſe of *William Somers*, and his Siſter-in-Law, *Mary Cowper*; and that I may not mingle any thing that may be thought doubtful, I will paſs over ſome Depoſitions of *Somers*, in which he charges Mr. *Darrel* to have fore-inſtructed, and taught him, before ever he began to counterfeit. Not but there are conſiderable Probabilities even of that; but as that reſts, as it muſt needs, upon the Boy's own Teſtimony, and becauſe one cannot be ſure but that to extenuate his own Fault, he might make Mr. *Darrel* worſe than he was; therefore I will let that Part paſs, and come to thoſe things, where the Boy's Teſtimony was confirm'd by Notoriety of the Fact, and other Witneſſes, and Mr. *Darrel*'s own Examination, and Books.

This Caſe of *William Somers* happen'd towards the latter end of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign; he was a Servant to one Mr. *Brakenbury*, near *Aſhby-de-la-zouch*, the Place where Mr. *Darrel*, about that time, lived. He had

ſome odd kind of Fits there, which Mr. *Darrel* afterward believed was a Poſſeſſion. He was turned out of his Place for them, and having no Exorciſt, was well of himſelf for ſeveral Years: From Mr. *Brakenbury*'s, he came to *Nottingham*, to one *Robert Cowper*, his Father-in-Law; and his Mother bound him Apprentice to one *Thomas Porter*, one of the Town-Muſick. After ſome time, he ran away from him, and came back; ran away again, but returned to him again, deſigning to ſerve out his Time; but underſtanding that his Maſter would make him ſtay till he had made up the Time he loſt; to make his Maſter glad to be rid of him, he pretended himſelf ſick; and having really got cold in the Water, he huffed up his Belly, and made it move, and practiſed the ſame Tricks he had done at Mr. *Brakenbury*'s. Some that came to ſee him, ſaid he was poſſeſs'd, and brought with them a Book, *Of the Witches of* Warbois, *and Mr.* Throgmorton'*s Children*; and by that he learned ſeveral things, and ſaid, he was bewitched by an old Woman that he had met with, becauſe he would not give her a Hatband that he had found.

Mr. *Darrel* had a Siſter lived then in *Nottingham*, and ſhe ſaid her Brother had cured nine ſuch Perſons; and upon that, *Somers*, in his Fits, called for *Darrel*, *Darrel*. If it was a Devil, he had a great mind to be caſt out. He liked Mr. *Darrel*'s way: For it appeared afterward, that he had known Mr. *Darrel* before, at *Aſhby-de-la-zouch*, and he would not reſt

now

now till Mr. *Darrel* was ſent for. Whereupon, not the Mayor and Aldermen of *Nottingham*, as this new Author boldly affirms, but a Siſter of Mr. *Darrel*'s, that lived in *Nottingham*, and Mr. *Aldridge*, Vicar of St. *Mary*'s, wrote to Mr. *Darrel* to come, and he came the fifth of *November*, 1597.

Since the Gift of diſcerning Spirits is ceaſed in the Church, it is a Matter of very great difficulty to diſtinguiſh betwixt Poſſeſſion, and ſome Efforts of our own Souls in ſome Diſeaſes. Wiſe Men therefore, in Caſes of that Nature, are ſlow in determining: But Mr. *Darrel*, before he came thither, at a Friend's Houſe, where he called, declared his Belief of the Poſſeſſion, his purpoſe for a Faſt; and that he did not doubt the Boy's Deliverance. When he came to *Nottingham*, before ever he ſaw him, he told the Boy's Friends that he was poſſeſs'd. When he had ſeen him, the very firſt Night, he declared the ſame, and added, that the Boy was ſenſeleſs in his Fits; and that what he ſpoke, was not from himſelf, but the Devil. When he asked *Somers*, How he did? and he ſaid, Well: Mr. *Darrel* anſwered, that it was not he, but the Devil that ſaid ſo. Again, he told in *Somers*'s hearing, how he was like the Boy of *Burton*, and *Catherine Wright*, and the ſeven in *Lancaſhire*; that he would be much worſe than he was yet; would lie in a Trance, when the Devil went out: and how all the reſt had ſeen the Devil go out in the Likeneſs of ſome Creatures. The Shapes that the other Spirits were ſaid to go

out in, were these, a Mouse, a Man with a Hunch-back higher than his Head, an ugly Man with a white Beard, a Crow's Head round, a great Breath, ugly like a Toad, an Urchin, *&c.*

He told also, in *Somers*'s hearing, many other things that the other possess'd Persons had done; as casting themselves into the Fire and Water, gnashing with their Teeth, writhing their Necks, as if their Faces stood backward, drawing their Mouths awry, foaming; and that *Satan* used by Gestures to shew the particular Sins that reigned in the Places where they dwelt. Mr. *Darrel* complains greatly for being charged with teaching his Patients to counterfeit: But this is teaching, speaking such things before them is sufficient teaching. It doth not appear, that any of the Popish Priests, who were detected about the same time, desired any of their Patients, in plain Words, to counterfeit; but only they managed them, and told Stories before them, and foretold how it would be with them; and all that Mr. *Darrel* did, before many Witnesses, besides many private Conferences, in which the Parties say they learned of him more plainly.

The Day after, that is, the sixth of *November*, being Sunday, Mr. *Darrel* was again with *Somers*, and he had his Fits. Mr. *Darrel* persuaded all People to beware of Sin; for *Somers*, he said, was afflicted for the Sins of *Nottingham*: And God had made even the Devil a Preacher to deter them from them. At this time, as he had done the Night before, *Somers* acted by

Signs

Signs all the Sins of *Nottingham*, and Mr. *Darrel* explained them to the People, as *Somers* acted them. Mr. *Aldridge*, Minister of the Parish, used the Argument afterward in his Sermon in Church: and a Ballad was made upon the same Subject. Part of it was thus;

But when that Mr. Darrel *came,*
The Devil was vexed with the same.
His Limbs he rack'd, he rent, he tore,
Far worser than he did before:
He play'd the Antick there in Scorns,
And flouted Men, in making Horns:
And after that, he did bewray,
How Men at Cards and Dice do play.
He shewed the manner of our Fardingales,
Our Busks, and Perriwigs, Masks, and Vales;
And by clapping of his Hands,
He shew'd the starching of our Bands.

When Mr. *Darrel*, by these Explications, and much talk of his dispossessing others, had raised the Expectation of the People, he appointed a Fast to be kept the next Day, being the seventh of *November*, and desired all the People to refrain from the Company of their Wives that Night, and the next Day they would see strange things; and that, if it stood with the Glory of God, they would see both the Signs of Possession, and Dispossession; and intimated how unwilling the Boy would be to come to the House appointed.

On

On the Morning, *Somers* made as much Refiftance as Mr. *Darrel* had faid he would, but was brought ftruggling upon feven Mens Shoulders, and laid upon a Bed prepar'd before them, with fome about to hold him.

There were two Sermons preached; the firft by one Mr. *Aldred*; the fecond by Mr. *Darrel*. At Mr. *Aldred*'s Sermon *Somers* lay ftill, excepting a little Struggle now and then: But when Mr. *Darrel* began, he roufed up himfelf, and Mr. *Darrel* declaring fourteen Signs of Poffeffion, leifurely, one after another; *Somers* fhew'd all the fourteen as Mr. *Darrel* fpake them: He tore; he foamed; he wallowed; his Face was drawn a-wry; his Eyes would ftare, and his Tongue hang out; he had a fwelling would feem to run from his Fore-head, down by his Ear and Throat, and through his Belly and Thighs, to the Calf of his Legs; he would fpeak with his Mouth fcarce moving; and when they looked, his Tongue would feem drawn down his Throat; he would try to caft himfelf into the Fire and Water; he would feem heavy, that they could not lift him, and his Joints ftiff, that they could not bend them.

After this, Mr. *Darrel* told them, That as they perceived by thefe, that he was really poffefs'd; fo now, if it ftood with the Glory of God, they fhould fee the Signs of his Deliverance. The three Signs of that were, Crying, Rending, and Lying as dead; and Mr. *Darrel* fpeaking concerning thefe leifurely; when he difcourfed concerning Crying; then *Somers* cryed;

ed: when of Rending; he tore his Doublet: and when of lying as if dead; he lay as if he was dead for half a quarter of an Hour. Upon this there was suddenly a great Noise amongst the People, Crying, and Praying, and Astonished. Mr. *Darrel* stood with his Hands lift up to Heaven; and two that were there confessed their Sins before the Company, being about one hundred and fifty; and when *Somers* came to himself, he was thought to be well: But Mr. *Darrel* put them in mind, in *Somers*'s hearing, how the Devil, very likely, would appear to him in several Shapes, and make great Promises, and seek to repossess him; and therefore he must be watchful.

About a Week after, Mr. *Darrel* was chose Preacher of St. *Mary*'s in *Nottingham*, and People flock'd to hear him, where he entertained them with Sermons of Devils, and Possessions, and *Somers*'s Case, till the Maids were afraid to fetch Beer out of the Cellars, without Company with them.

In this same Week, Mr. *Darrel* bought out *Somers*'s Time from his Master, and placed him with his Father-in-Law, *Robert Cowper*, and made a Collection for the Cloathing of the Boy, and his Board at *Cowper*'s, for he promised he should be no loser.

About three or four Days after his Dispossession, as Mr. *Darrel* had been often talking of his Repossession; so the Boy began to start, and talk of a black Dog that offered him Gold and Ginger. He said the Devil came with six more

in

in Shapes like a Cock, a Crane, a Snake, an Angel, a Toad, a Newt, a Set of Viols and Dancers. So that he had now his Fits again; and once lying under a Coverlet, and making ſome accidental Motion, as they thought him ſenſeleſs, Mr. *Darrel* ſaid it was the Devil made that Motion. The Boy hearing that, made other Motions with his Hands and Knees, and Noiſes with his Toes, and the Company ſaid they were Spirits, like Whelps and Kitlings. They played theſe Tricks a Fortnight; and if any caught hold of his Knee, they ſaid the Devil would mingle ſuch Things, to make them think that all was counterfeit.

Another Fortinight they ſpent in diſcovering Witches; for Mr. *Darrel* having ſaid before *Somers*, that Poſſeſs'd Perſons uſed to diſcover Witches, he named many that he had heard reputed bad, and threw himſelf into Fits at their coming; and thirteen were ſent to Jail. But ſome that always thought he counterfeited, brought in one of the ſuppoſed Witches privately, under a Cloak, and then he never ſtirred. Three or four ſuch Tricks were put upon him, but they had always their Excuſes ready, That the Devil would put in ſome ſuch Appearances of Counterfeiting, to ſave the Witches, and make God's Works be disbelieved.

This *William Somers* had a Siſter that was often with him, and Mr. *Darrel* bid her be very careful of her ſelf; for the Devil uſed to poſſeſs more than one in a Family. A little before *Chriſtmas* ſhe had a Child died, the Death of which

which made her ill at eaſe, and ſome Women told her, ſhe was worſe than ſhe thought. Some Diſorder that ſhe had, made her Belly ſwell, that ſhe thought ſhe was with Child. Mr. *Darrel* ſaid, It was no Child, but ſuch a Child as God bleſs every good Body from. Upon this, as ſhe depoſed afterward in her Confeſſion, gueſſing that Mr. *Darrel* had a mind that ſhe ſhould do as her Brother did, ſhe began to tumble, and toſs, and talk idly, and laugh; and Mr. *Darrel* ſaid, Certainly that laughing was from the Devil. Once ſhe had a Company of Women about her, in Expectation that ſhe ſhould be delivered of ſome monſtrous Thing; and ſhe ſaid, ſhe could not forbear laughing to ſee how buſy they were; and, ſaid ſhe, my laughing they termed my Fit, and cried, Lord bleſs her, Lord ſave her, ſhe is in a ſore Fit; and when ſhe was weary, and lay ſtill, then they ſaid, ſhe was in a Trance.

But as Accuſations of Witches are uſually ſoon diſcovered when they come to the better Sort, ſo was it here; for this *Mary Cowper* accuſed one *Alice Freeman*, who though poor and old, yet was Siſter to one of the Aldermen, but was committed to Jail, and in great Danger. Soon after her Confinement, her Brother having Intimation of *Somers*'s Counterfeiting, prevailed with the Mayor, and ſome other Aldermen, to remove him to the Work-Houſe, where he might be out of Mr. *Darrel*'s Hands, and be obſerved better. When he was there, he had his Fits: But one *Nicholas Shepherd* told him, if he would

not leave and riſe up, he would ſet ſuch a Pair of Knip-knaps upon him, as ſhould make him rue it: And the Boy, being loath to venture him, leſt he ſhould be as good as his Word, roſe up before them, and being weary of Mr. *Darrel's* Practices, he confeſſed his Diſſimulation: And they promiſing to ſpeak for him to the Mayor, that he might not be puniſhed, he voluntarily acted over all his Tricks before them. They gave the Mayor an Account of what had paſſed; and he confeſſed the ſame before him, and ſome of the Aldermen: And ſhewed them the ſeveral Ways how he had ſwallowed his Tongue, and foamed, and made the Swelling, and acted all before them: And as once before he had been taken with black Lead in his Mouth, in the Time of his Fits, he confeſſed that he uſed it to help him to foam the more eaſily.

One would have thought ſuch Demonſtrations as theſe ſhould have put an end to a bad Practice; for one can hardly think what plainer Proof could be made of an Impoſture: But Mr. *Darrel* hath convinced us, that Evaſions and Cavils are endleſs; for he found out Anſwers, and both in the Pulpit, and out of the Pulpit, maintain'd the Poſſeſſion, whether the Boy would or no. He ſaid, the Devil was more in him now than before. He ſaid, he Poſſeſs'd his Soul; that it was a new Compact betwixt the Devil and him, to obſcure the Work of God: For this Diſpoſſeſſion, he ſaid, had been a moſt glorious Work; the like to it had not been ſince the Reformation; it ſtrengthened our Hands againſt the

the Papists, who upbraided us for want of such Works; it gave Proof to the Gospel, the Word that they Preached; and therefore the Devil helped the Boy to Counterfeit, on purpose that God might lose the Glory. Upon this Bottom he plied *Somers* with Threats and Persuasions to make him revoke his Confession; and, in hopes to free himself from farther Trouble, the Boy wrote to Mr. *Darrel* this Letter following.

" Mr. *Darrel*, my hearty Commendations " unto you. This is to desire you, that you " would let me be at quiet: For whereas you " said that I was possessed, I was not; and for " those Tricks that I did before you came, was " through Folks Speeches that came to me: " And those that I did since, was through your " Speeches, and others. For as you said I could " not hear, I did hear all Things that were " done in the House, and all Things that I did " were Counterfeit: And I pray you to let it " pass; for the more you meddle in it, the more " discredit it will be for you: And I pray God, " and you, and all the World to forgive me.

Mr. *Darrel*, in his Examination owned, that he received this Letter; and that, notwithstanding that, he persuaded the Boy to revoke his Confession; and defended what he had done with that Assurance, that the Archbishop of *York* granted a Commission of Gentlemen and Clergymen, to enquire into the Truth of what had past. The Commission was appointed to sit on the

the 21st of *March*. The Boy resolved to stand to the Truth of what he had Confessed, and agreed to fall into his Fits before the Commissioners, and come out of them at Mr. Mayor's Word; who had notice, that he might call when he thought most proper: And on the other side, Mr. *Darrel's* Friends were not wanting to do far more than was just and fair; for two of the Commissioners, Sir *John Byrom* for one, riding by the Work-House a Day or two before, called for the Boy, and told him, That if he was found to have Counterfeited, he deserved to be hanged. Many others threatened him as much.

At the Day appointed the Commission sat. The Boy, according to Agreement, fell into his Fits, as strange as ever he had had before. He was prick'd with Pins, and did not stir; Mr. *Darrel* saith, he did not bleed. *Somers* listened when the Mayor should call; but the Company being persuaded of the reality of his Fits, expressed themselves with such Violence and Anger at those that had believed otherwise, that the Mayor would not meddle, and did not call him. The Boy being at a loss what to do, because the Mayor had failed him, and hearing People talk as they did, and remembring Sir *John Byrom's* Words, and others Threatnings; and finding, to his Wonder, that even his Confession could not be believed, he resolved to dissemble again, since they liked that better, and accordingly when he rose up, he said his Possession was true, and he was no Counterfeit. Seventeen of Mr. *Darrel's* Witnesses were examined,

ed, and describing his Fits, according as their Fear and Zeal had fancy'd; their Depositions made a strange Appearance, and are those that the Author of the *Compleat History* hath printed, without taking notice of the following Detections, which convinced even those very Witnesses of his Falshood. But in the mean Time their Depositions, and *Somers*'s new Behaviour, made such a face of Things, that the Commissioners declared in Mr. *Darrel*'s Favour, and for the Truth of the Possession; and ordered *Somers* to a House, where Mr. *Darrel* desired he might be.

And now *William* is possessed again: And tho' while he was at the Work-House, he said he was not possessed, and confirmed his Words by keeping from his Fits for a Month together, excepting when he acted them at their desire; yet now he is a Dæmoniack again, and had his Fits afresh; and Mr. *Darrel* and his Friends, to establish him in his present Way, promised, that as soon as the Assizes were over, which were then at hand, he should have another Fast for his Dispossession, and then should have a Place to wait upon a Gentleman in Mr. *Byram*'s Family.

In this Posture Things stood for ten Days, and no longer; for then the Assizes were at *Nottingham*, and Sir *Edmund Anderson*, then Lord Chief Justice of the *Common Pleas*, being in that Circuit, and having had two supposed Witches tried before him, and many more accused, and the Country in such a ferment, that the People were ready to quarrel in the Streets about these Witchcrafts and Possessions; he and

the Mayor, and those Aldermen that had heard *Somers*'s Confession before, and seen his Fits, had him again before them, and encouraging him to speak the Truth without Fear, he confessed himself a Counterfeit again, and shewed all his Tricks before them; and when my Lord Chief Justice bad him, immediately he started out of them, and stood up well: And which is more than all, from that Time, without Mr. *Darrel*'s Fast, he continued well, without any more Fits, excepting when he threw himself into them to confirm his Confession. And that he did often; once before Mr. *Darrel* himself. When he had shewn two or three of his Tricks, Mr. *Darrel* bad him *foam*; and in a little while, by working the Spittle in his Mouth, he foamed till the Froth ran to his Chin: He offered to show the rest, but Mr. *Darrel* would not stay. He said he had seven Devils in him now, and therefore he did not doubt but he might do them again by the same Power that he did before.

This obstinate Sophistry of Mr. *Darrel*'s keeping his Admirers in the belief of the Dispossession: And the Lord Chief Justice giving Account to the Archbishop, what ill Consequence it had in the Country; it was thought necessary to have the Matter examined by the High Commission; and accordingly Mr. *Darrel* and *Somers* were both called to *London*; and after Depositions were taken, and Matters prepared, they were tried before the Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*, (Dr. *Whitgift*) the Bishop of *London*

(Dr. *Bancroft*) the two Lord Chief Justices, Dr. *Cæsar*, Master of *Requests*, Dr. *Bing*, Dean of the *Arches*, and Dr. *Stanhope*. *Somers* stood firm to his Confession, and gave rational Accounts of whatever was ask'd. These Things that I have mentioned, and many more besides them, were deposed; four and forty Witnesses were examined, four and thirty of which had been Mr. *Darrel*'s Friends. Mr. *Aldridge*, the Vicar of St. *Mary*'s, who at first was so fully persuaded of the Possession, that he was one that sent for Mr. *Darrel* to *Nottingham*, declared now, that he was satisfied he had been mistaken. Mr. *Aldred*, that preached the first of the two Sermons upon their Fast, declared, that he did now believe in his Conscience, that *Somers* had dissembled. *Robert Cowper*, one of the two that had confessed his Sins before the Company, and who was the Boy's Father-in-Law, and who had been Witness of the Boy and his Sister's Behaviour, both in private and publick, and in whose House Mr. *Darrel* himself had placed him, deposed in these Words; "I "do verily think and believe in my Conscience, "that *William Somers* did counterfeit all he "did, that he was never possessed, dispossessed, nor repossessed; and that Mr. *Darrel* "dealt very unjustly in all his Course, &c. Several of the same Witnesses that were examined before the first Commissioners, explained themselves: As to instance in one or two, *Richard Mee* had deposed, "That he had seen *William* "*Somers* turn his Face directly backward, not

"moving his Body; and that his Eyes were as "great as Beasts Eyes; and that his Tongue "would be thrust out of his Head to the big- "ness of a Calve's Tongue." In his Re-examination, he saith, "My Meaning was, that "he turned his Face a good way towards his "Shoulder, and that his Eyes were something "Gogling; and by reason that it was Candle- "light when I saw his Tongue thrust out, and "by reason of my Conceit of the strangeness "of *Somers*'s Troubles, it seemed somewhat "bigger than, if *Somers* had been well, I should "have thought it to have been.

A great matter had been made at the Time of the said Commission, of a Black Dog that had frequently appeared to *Somers*, and persuaded him to say he had dissembled; and at that Time betwixt his Fits, when they ask'd him why he had said he counterfeited? He said, *A Dog, a Dog*. And, as odd Things will fall in with such Stories, it happened that there was a Black Dog in the Chamber, that belong'd to one *Clark* a Spurrier. Some of the Commissioners spying him, thought they saw the Devil. One thought his Eyes glared like Fire; and much Speech was afterward made of it. But those that had had those Fancies, being shown the Spurrier's Dog afterward; they confess'd, upon their Oaths, that they believ'd it was that Spaniel that they had seen.

But to pass by very many material Things; the Bishop of *London* ask'd Mr. *Darrel*, if *Somers* was then repossessed, as he maintained; why

why had he no Fits now, but went to Chapel, and behaved himſelf orderly, and had been well for a Year together? Mr. *Darrel* wanted not an Anſwer: Said he, *When the ſtrong Man is in quiet Poſſeſſion, his Houſe is in Peace; now the Devil lurks and lies cloſe, like an old Fox as he is.* See *Detect.* p. 101.

Several depoſed, That they always thought that he counterfeited, and added by what Signs they perceived his Craft, when he pretended to be Senſeleſs: That Mr. *Darrel* was told of this the firſt Night he came to *Nottingham*; that Mr. *Aldridge*, and ſeveral of the Aldermen, were offended, and reproved him for troubling the Congregation with ſo many Sermons about Devils and Poſſeſſions. To this I find his Anſwer in his Detection; "It is true, indeed, ſaith "he, ſome two or three of the chief Friends of "counterfeiting natural Men, not favouring "the Spirit, ſhewed ſome diſlike to my Preach-"ing, and adviſed me to preach of Love and "Charity, ſaying they were in Charity till I "came there, *&c.* and ſo he goes on blaming "them for pretending to direct their Teacher.

But to add no more of the Depoſitions or his Anſwers, the Iſſue was, that by the full Agreement of the whole Court he was condemned for a Counterfeit, and depoſed from the Miniſtry, and committed to cloſe Priſon, there to remain till order was taken for his farther Puniſhment. And though nothing could cure his Tongue, or make him confeſs himſelf wrong, yet I never find that he attempted to diſpoſſeſs

any more: And though before this, he thought he had cured ten in the compaſs of two Years; yet after it, though I have three Books of his upon this Subject, I do not find that he ever meddled any more in thoſe Matters. And as that Proſecution taught him Wiſdom, though he would not own it, I think his Example ought to be kept in Memory, for a Warning to all raſh Perſons, that are apt to run into the ſame Miſtakes. And what the Author of the *Compleat Hiſtory* deſerves, for Printing the Firſt Part of this Hiſtory, and leaving out all that followed, that I leave to the Reader's Judgment.

The Fourth RELATION.

The Boy of Nor-wich.

I Have not much that is material concerning this Boy; but I give him a Place amongſt theſe Relations; becauſe his Caſe hath been made famous, by having a Biſhop's Licence, to impower certain Perſons to deal with him. And I believe it is the only Licence of this Nature, that ever paſs'd a Seal: For ſoon after the Conviction of Mr. *Darrel*, and thoſe Popiſh Prieſts before-mentioned, the Convocation, in the Year 1603, for prevention of the like Miſchiefs, thought it neceſſary to make the ſeventy-ſecond Canon, which requires that no Miniſters, without particular Licence from the Biſhop, under Seal, ſhould attempt the caſting out of Devils, under Pain of the

the Imputation of Imposture and Cozenage. Now the very next Year after, if not in the same, this *Thomas Harrison*, a Boy of twelve Years old, was thought by many to be possess'd. Mr. *Clark* puts him amongst his Examples of possess'd Persons, and if one might depend upon his Authority, one could not but encline to think him a real *Dæmoniack*; for he represents his Actions in high Terms: And in his Life of Mr. *Bruin*, he puts down the Licence that the Bishop of *Chester* granted. But meeting with this Licence in Mr. *Darrel's* Survey of the *Dialogical Disc.* Part II. *page* 21. I was surprized to find, that Mr. *Clark* had left out a very material Part of it, wherein the Bishop, and those that signed it, tell the Persons that were concerned, that, tho' some believed such a Thing, they thought there was no great probability that the Boy was possessed. I will add the Licence at large, as it is in Mr. *Darrel*; both that those who have the Curiosity may see it; and that others may learn, not to lay too much Weight upon Mr. *Clark's* Examples.

" *First we think it fit, and do*
" *require the Parents of the said*
" *Child, that they suffer not any*
" *to repair to their House to visit*
" *him, saving such as are in Authority, and*
" *other Persons of special Regard, and known*
" *Discretion; and to have special Care,*
" *that the Number always be very small.*
" *Further*——Having seen the Bodily Affliction

These First Lines omitted by Mr. *Clark*.

"on of the said Child, and observed in sundry "Fits, very strange Effects and Operations, either proceeding of natural unknown Causes, "or some Diabolical Practice; we think it convenient and fit, for the Ease and Deliverance "of the said Child from his grievous Afflictions, "that Prayer be made for him publickly, by "the Minister of the Parish, — "*or any other Preacher repairing thither, before the Congregation, so often as the same assembleth.*—And that certain Preachers, namely, Mr. *Garrard*, Mr. *Massey*, "Mr. *Coller*, Mr. *Harvey*, Mr. "*Eaton*, Mr. *Pierson*, and Mr. "*Brownhill*, these only, and none other, to "repair unto the said Child, by turns, as their "Leisure will serve, and to use their Discretions for Private Prayer and Fasting, for the "Ease and Comfort of the Afflicted—*Withal requiring them to abstain from all solemn Meetings, because the Calamity is particular, and "the Authority of allowing and prescribing "such Meetings resteth neither in them, nor "us, but in our Superiours, whose Pleasure it is fit we should expect. Moreover, "because it is by some held, that the Child "is really possessed of an unclean Spirit; "for that there appeareth to us no certainty, "nor yet any great probability thereof, we "think it also convenient, and require the "Preachers aforesaid, to forbear all Forms of "Exorcisms,*

These Words omitted.

Four Names omitted.

All that follows omitted.

"*Exorcisms, which always imply and pre-*
"*suppose a real and actual Possession.*

Rich. Cestriensis.
David Yate, *Chancellor.*
Griff. Vaughan.
Hugh Burghes.

The Fifth RELATION.

The Witches of Pendle-Forest, *in* Lancashire, *as Mr.* Webster *gives Account of them,* Page 277, 346, 347.

The Examination of *Edmund Robinson*, Son of *Edmund Robinson* of *Pendle*, eleven Years of Age, taken at *Padham*, before *Richard Shuttleworth* and *John Starkey*, Esquires, two of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace, within the County of *Lancaster*, the tenth of *February*, 1633.

WHO upon Oath informeth, being examined concerning the great Meeting of the Witches of *Pendle*, saith, That upon *All Saints* Day last past, he, this Informer, being with one *Henry Parker*, a near Door Neighbour to him, in *Wheatley-lane*, desired the said *Parker* to give him leave to gather some Bullees, which he did; in gathering whereof he saw two Grey-hounds, *viz.* a black, and a brown; one came running over the next Field towards him,

him, he verily thinking one of them to be Mr. *Nutter*'s, and the other to be Mr. *Robinſon*'s, the ſaid Gentlemen then having ſuch like: And ſaith, the ſaid Grey-hounds came to him, and fawned on him, they having about their Necks either of them a Collar, unto each of which was tied a String: which Collars (as this Informer affirmeth) did ſhine like Gold. And he thinking that ſome either of Mr. *Nutter*'s, or Mr. *Robinſon*'s Family ſhould have followed them; yet ſeeing no body to follow them, he took the ſame Grey-hounds, thinking to courſe with them. And preſently a Hare did riſe very near before him; at the Sight whereof he cried, *Loo*, *Loo*, *Loo*; but the Dogs would not run. Whereupon he being very angry, took them, and with the Strings that were about their Collars, tied them to a little Buſh, at the next Hedge, and with a Switch that he had in his Hand, he beat them. And inſtead of the black Grey-hound, one *Dickinſon*'s Wife ſtood up, a Neighbour whom this Informer knoweth. And inſtead of the brown one, a little Boy, whom this Informer knoweth not. At which Sight this Informer being afraid, endeavoured to run away; but being ſtaid by the Woman, *viz.* by *Dickinſon*'s Wife, ſhe put her Hand into her Pocket, and pulled forth a piece of Silver, much like to a fair Shilling, and offered to give him it to hold his Tongue, and not to tell; which he refuſed, ſaying, *Nay, thou art a Witch.* Whereupon ſhe put her Hand into her Pocket again, and pulled out a thing like unto a Bridle, that gingled,

gingled, which ſhe put on the little Boy's Head: Which ſaid Boy ſtood up in the Likeneſs of a white Horſe, and in the brown Grey-hound's ſtead. Then immediately *Dickinſon*'s Wife took this Informer before her upon the ſaid Horſe, and carried him to a new Houſe called *Hoarſtone*'s, being about a quarter of a Mile off. Whither when they were come, there were divers Perſons about the Door, and he ſaw divers others riding on Horſes of ſeveral Colours towards the ſaid Houſe. Which Perſons went into the ſaid Houſe to the Number of threeſcore or thereabouts, as this Informer thinketh, where they had a Fire and Meat roaſting in the ſaid Houſe, whereof a young Woman (whom this Informer knoweth not) gave him Fleſh and Bread upon a Trencher, and Drink in a Glaſs, which after the firſt Taſte he refuſed, and would have no more; but ſaid, *It was naught.*

And preſently after, ſeeing divers of the Company going into a Barn near adjoining, he followed after them, and there he ſaw ſix of them, kneeling and pulling, all ſix of them, ſix ſeveral Ropes, which were faſtened or tied to the top of the Barn; preſently after which pulling, there came into this Informer's ſight Fleſh ſmoaking, Butter in lumps, and Milk as it were flying from the ſaid Ropes. All which fell into Baſons, which were placed under the ſaid Ropes. And after that theſe ſix had done, there came other ſix, which did ſo likewiſe. And during all the time of their ſeveral pulling, they made ſuch ugly Faces, as ſcared this Informer, ſo that he

he was glad to run out, and steal homewards; who immediately finding they wanted one that was in their Company, some of them ran after him, near to a Place in a High-way called *Boggard-hole*, where he this Informer met two Horsemen, at the sight whereof the said Persons left following him. But the foremost of those Persons that followed him, he knew to be one *Loind*'s Wife; which said Wife, together with one *Dickinson*'s Wife, and one *Jannet Davies*, he hath seen since, at several times, in a Croft or Close adjoining to his Father's House, which put him in great fear. And farther, this Informer saith, upon *Thursday*, after *New-Year's-Day* last past, he saw the said *Loind*'s Wife sitting upon a cross piece of Wood, being within the Chimney of his Father's dwelling House: and he calling to her, said, *Come down thou* Loind'*s Wife*; and immediately the said *Loind*'s Wife went up out of his sight. And further, this Informer saith, That after he was come from the Company aforesaid to his Father's House, being towards Evening, his Father bad him go and fetch home two Kine to seal; and in the way in a Field, called the *Ellers*, he chanced to hap upon a Boy, who began to quarrel with him; and they fought together, till the Informer had his Ears and Face bloody by fighting, and looking down, he saw the Boy had a cloven Foot: At which sight he being greatly affrighted, came away from him to seek the Kine; and in the way he saw a Light like to a Lanthorn, towards which he made haste, supposing it to

be carried by ſome of Mr. *Robinſon*'s People; but when he came to the Place, he only found a Woman ſtanding on a Bridge, whom, when he ſaw, he knew to be *Loind*'s Wife; and knowing her, he turned back again; and immediately he met with the foreſaid Boy, from whom he offered to run, which Boy gave him a Blow that made him to cry. And further, this Informer ſaith, That when he was in the Barn he ſaw three Women take ſix Pictures from off the Beam, in which Pictures were many Thorns, or ſuch like things ſticked: And that *Loind*'s Wife took one of the Pictures down; but the other two Women that took down the reſt, he knoweth not. And being further asked, What Perſons were at the foreſaid Meeting? He nominated theſe Perſons following, *viz.* *Dickinſon*'s Wife, *&c.* and eighteen that he knew; and one more, as he believed.

Edmund Robinſon of *Pendle*, Father of the aforeſaid *Edmund Robinſon*, Maſon, informeth;

That upon *All-Saints Day* laſt, he ſent his Son, the aforeſaid Informer, to fetch home two Kine to ſeal; and ſaith, That his Son ſtaying longer than he thought he ſhould have done, he went to ſeek him; and in ſeeking of him, heard him cry pitifully, and found him ſo affrighted and diſtracted, that he neither knew his Father, nor did know where he was, and ſo continued very near a quarter of an Hour before he came to himſelf. And he told this Informer his

his Father, all the particular Paſſages that are before declared in the ſaid *Robinſon* his Son's Information.

Richard Shuttleworth,
John Starkey.

Theſe ſuppoſed Witches were committed or bound over to the next Aſſizes. The Boy and his Father being poor, and finding themſelves believed, made a Practice to go from Church to Church, that the Boy might reveal and diſcover Witches, pretending, that there were a great Number at the Witches Meeting, whoſe Faces he could know, and by that means they got a Living. At that time Mr. *Webſter*, who was afterward the Author of the Book about Witchcraft, was Curate at *Kildwick*; and in the Afternoon, as he was preaching, the Boy was brought into the Church, and ſet upon a Stool, to ſee round about, whether he could know any there. After Service Mr. *Webſter* went to the Houſe where they were, and deſired to have examined the Boy in private, but two Men that were with him refuſed it. Then he asked the Boy to tell him truly, Whether ſome body did did not teach him to ſay ſuch things of himſelf; but the two Men pluck'd the Boy from him, and ſaid, he had been examined before two Juſtices of Peace, and they had never ask'd him ſuch a Queſtion.

At the Aſſizes following at *Lancaſter*, there were ſeventeen found guilty by the Jury, but the Judge not being ſatisfied with the Evidence, they

they were reprieved; and his Majeſty and his Council being informed of the Matter by the Judge, the Biſhop of *Cheſter* was appointed to examine them, and to certify what he thought, which he did; and four of them, *viz. Margaret Johnſon*, *Frances Dicconſon*, *Mary Spencer*, and *Hargrave*'s Wife, were ſent for up to *London*, and committed to the *Fleet*. Great Sums of Money were gotten there by ſhewing of them, aud publick Plays were acted thereupon. They were viewed and examined by his Majeſty's Phyſicians and Surgeons; and after, by his Majeſty, and the Council: and no Cauſe of Guilt appearing, but great Preſumptions of the Boy's being ſuborned to accuſe them falſly; it was reſolved to ſeparate the Boy from his Father, and put them in ſeveral Priſons. Soon after this, the Boy confeſſed, that he was taught, and encouraged to feign thoſe things by his Father, and ſome others, whom Envy, Revenge, and hope of Gain had prompted. Beſides the Notoriety of ſuch a publick Fact, Mr. *Webſter* adds, that he himſelf had had the whole Story from *Edmund Robinſon*'s own Mouth, more than once.

The Sixth RELATION.

William Perry: *Or, The Boy of* Bilſon.

BEfore I give Account of the Impoſture, I will put down a ſhort Abridgment of that Narrative, which Mr. *Wheeler*, one of the Popiſh

pish Priests, published of this Matter. The Title of it is, *A Faithful Relation of the Proceedings of the Catholick Gentlemen with the the Boy of* Bilson, *&c.*

In the second Page of their *Relation*— "First "then, to shew how the Child grew thus to be "tormented, as I have understood it of his Parents, and have heard the Child confirm it "himself. The Boy returning homeward from "School to *Bilson* in *Staffordshire*, where he "dwelt, an old Woman unknown met him, and "taxed him, in that he did not give her good "time of the Day, saying, That he was a foul "thing; and that it had been better for him if "he had saluted her. At which Words the Boy "felt a thing to prick him to the very Heart. "In fine, the Boy came home, languish'd some "Days, and at length grew into extream Fits, "that two or three (though he was a Child of "twelve Years of Age) could hardly hold him. "The Parents seeing the Extremity, sought "help of Catholicks, and with Cap and Knee "did solicit a zealous Gentleman, who, overcome by their Suit, did use some Prayers and "Exorcisms, allow'd by the Catholick Church: "with whose Prayers the Force of the spiritual Enemy abated. The Gentleman insisting "to know how many was in him; to his "thinking, he said, three.

The *Relation* proceeds— "This Gentleman "was call'd away by his Occasions; and after "that another. At last the Author of this *Re-*

"*lation*

" lation was engaged, and gives Account of his " own Actions, to this purpose.

" I was very unwilling, yet being overcome " by Intreaties, I dispos'd of my Businesses; " that I came thither on *Thursday* before *Corpus-Christi* Day, where I did find the Gentleman that requested me to come; and finding that they had used Sorceries of Witches, " which made the Child offer Violence to himself, we would not meddle with him till they " had burn'd those Sorceries apply'd to him, " which they forthwith did fulfil. Whereupon " we using the *Litany*, &c. the Child would be " so tormented, that three or four could hardly " hold him, *&c.*

" We were call'd away, but left Holy Water " and Holy Oil: The first having that Power, " that it would make him speak, tho' Dumb, " and his Tongue turn'd into his Throat: And " the second, that being apply'd in a little Quantity unto his Legs and Arms, most grievously " contracted, they would be stretched forth as " they were wont. He intreated them in our " Absence to use the Holy Waters and Oil in " his Extremities, *&c.* on *Saturday*, *Sunday*, " and *Munday*, with extream Fits and Heavings, " he brought up Pins, Wool, knotted Thread, " Thrums, Rosemary, Walnut-Leaves, Feathers, *&c.*

" On *Thursday*, being *Corpus-Christi* Day, " I came again, found the Child in great Extremities. In this time he had brought up eleven Pins, and a knitting Needle folded up in

" divers Folds, *&c.* He ſaid, the Spirit bad
" him not to hearken to me in any Caſe; that
" the Witch ſaid ſhe ſhould make an end of
" him, *&c.* I wiſhed him to pray for the
" Witch, which he did: Then the Child did
" declare, that now he was perfectly himſelf,
" and deſired that his Books, Pens, Ink, Cloaths,
" might be bleſſed, wiſhing his Parents, Siſters,
" and Brothers to bleſs themſelves, and become
" Catholicks; out of which Faith, by God's
" Grace, he ſaid, he would never live, or die.
" On *Sunday* I exorciſed him, and learned of
" him, that while *Puritans* were in Place, he
" ſaw the Devil aſſault him in form of a black
" Bird.

" After two or three Leaves more, he con-
" cludes, the Subſtance of all this I have here
" written, at my coming away, I declared be-
" fore three Proteſtants, and the Child's Parents,
" deſiring them, that if I did not ſay Truth in
" all things, that they would challenge me
" therein. Then the Child being in a ſounding
" Fit, anointing him with holy Oil, I did bring
" him unto himſelf, inſomuch, that with a Staff
" he walked up and down; and ſince he did
" eat and drink, ſleep and walk, having only
" ſhort Fits, as I am faithfully informed, yea,
" till ſhortly after they entertained many Witches
" and Sorcerers: Notwithſtanding whoſe help,
" ſought in vain, he is more grievouſly torment-
" ed than ever before, *&c.*

July 1. 1620. *Yours in Charity, Love, or in any good Office,* H. W.

To

To this is added by the Protestant Publisher:
" This *Relation* was published by the Priests
" themselves, and delivered by one of them,
" called Mr. *Wheeler*, into the Hands of Mr.
" *Thomas Nechils*, Gent. a Recusant, dwelling
" near *Bilson*, as appears by his own Confessi-
" on upon Oath, taken before the Lord Bishop
" of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, and added to the
" end of this Book.

About the time that those Priests had gone so far, *Joan Cock*, the Woman he complained of, was carried before the Bishop's Chancellor at *Litchfield*, and the Boy was had to confront her. At her coming into the Room, tho' he had his Back towards her, he fell into a bitter Agony, crying out, *Now she comes, now my Tormenter comes*; wreathing, and tearing, and twisting himself into such Shapes, as bred at once Amazement and Pity in the Spectators. This, with some other Probabilities, caused the Chancellor to send the Woman to *Stafford* Jail.

At the Assizes following at *Stafford*, *August* 10. 1620. a Month after the Date of Mr. *Wheeler*'s Relation, the supposed Witch was brought to her Tryal, before the Right Worshipful Sir *Peter Warburton*, and Sir *John Davyes*, Knights, his Majesty's Justices of Assize for that County, before whom appeared some slender Circumstances, which were vulgarly esteemed strong Proofs of Witchcraft: but after some Speech, manifesting the Idleness of such fantastical Delusions, the Woman was freed by the Inquest; and the Judges were pleased to com-

mit the Care of the Boy unto Dr. *Morton*, the Lord Bishop of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, then and there present.

The Bishop carried him home with him to *Ecclesbal-Castle*, whither his Fits followed him with great Violence; for being put out of his Road, and People being hinder'd from coming to admire him, he grew sullen, and would not eat, sometimes in two or three Days together; so that his Belly was almost clung to his Back. He lay in his Bed sometimes as it were senseless; sometimes staring with his Eyes, and foaming with his Mouth. The Bishop often visited him, sometimes striving to soften him with Gentleness; at other times handled him roughly with Chidings and Threatnings; but his evil Spirit would be mollified by neither.

The Father of the Boy, an honest Husbandman, innocent and ignorant of any Practice in his Child, came to see him, and earnestly ask'd, What might be thought of his Son's Case? and, Whether he was possess'd or not? Whereto it was purposely answered, That nothing seemed so marvellous, as that at the hearing of those Words of the holy Gospel, (*In the beginning was the Word*, &c.) he fell into Fits. Then presently, in the hearing of the Father, those Words were repeated; and upon the Repetition, the Boy fell into his Fit. The Bishop calling for a *Greek* Testament, said, Boy, it is either thou or the Devil that abhorrest those Words of the Gospel; and if it be the Devil, he (being so ancient a Scholar, as of almost six thousand Years standing)

knows, and underſtands all Languages; ſo that he cannot but know when I recite the ſame Sentence out of the *Greek* Text: But if it be thy ſelf, then art thou an execrable Wretch, who plays the Devil's part; wherefore look to thy ſelf, for now thou art to be put to Trial, and mark diligently, whether it be that ſame Scripture which ſhall be read. Then was read in *Greek* the twelfth Verſe of that Chapter, which he ſuppoſing to be the firſt, fell into his Trance as he was wont.

This Fit being quickly paſs'd over, there was read in *Greek* the firſt Verſe: But he ſuppoſing it was not the ſame Text, was not moved by it. By this means his Fraud was diſcovered, that he ſeemed to be greatly confounded. Notwithſtanding, ſtaring with his Eyes, and caſting his Head on both ſides the Bed, he told the Company, that he was troubled at the Sight of two Mice.

By this the Biſhop was confirmed, that he was a pertinacious Impoſtor; and finding Words and Menaces make no Impreſſion on him, he fell to Blows: for taking him out of his Bed, and having one to help him, the Biſhop gave him ſix ſmart Laſhes with a Rod, at which the Boy was no more concerned than an inſenſible Stock. They alſo thruſt Needles into his Toes and Fingers; but with all their Perſecutions he neither winched, nor ſtirred. In this Condition, growing almoſt deſperate, he would make Signs for Knives to do himſelf Miſchief, and continued in this manner almoſt a quarter of a Year. At laſt

his Urine grew ſo black, that the Phyſicians were of Opinion, that Nature had left her uſual Operations. That ſtruck the good Biſhop very near, that he reſolved if his Water continued ſo, he would make no farther Trial: But to find out the Truth of this, he ſet a truſty Servant to watch him through a hole that looked into the Chamber upon the Bed. The Biſhop and his Family going that Morning to Church, all things were ſtill in the Houſe, and the Boy finding all quiet, lifts up himſelf, and ſtares, and liſtens, and at length gets out of his Bed, and in the Straw or Mat under it, takes out an Inkhorn, and makes Water in the Chamber-Pot, through a piece of the Cotton in his Hand, and another little piece he put into his *Præputium*, covering it with the Skin, which was for a reſerve, if he ſhould be forced to make Water before Company; then he hid his Inkhorn, and returned to Bed. The Man that was appointed to watch him, ſeeing all this, diſcovered it to the Biſhop at his coming home, who came to him, and ask'd him, How he did? The Boy, according to his uſual manner, pointed to his Water, looking ghaſtly on it, and muttered out his old howling Tone. The Biſhop reſolved now to deal roundly with him, ſaid, Sirrah, you have Ink in your Bed-Straw: Your Knavery is found out; and calling in his Man, he took out the Inkhorn where the Boy had hid it, and juſtified that he ſaw him make Water through the Cotton. This ſtruck the Boy into ſuch a Terror, that he roſe from the Bed, and fell upon his Knees, and beſought the Biſhop

to pardon him, and he would tell him the whole Truth.

Accordingly he did, and afterward he was examined again by the Biſhop, the 13th of *October*, 1620, and the Queſtions and Anſwers were taken and atteſted, and printed by *Richard Baddely*, a Publick Notary. The Subſtance of his ſeveral Confeſſions is, That an old Man, called *Thomas*, with grey Hair, and a Cradle of Glaſſes, met him, not far from his Father's Houſe, and asked him where he dwelled? and if he went to School? and promiſed him, if he would do as he taught him, he ſhould not need to go to School: For, ſaid he, I can teach thee ſuch Tricks, that the People that ſee thee ſhall believe that thou art bewitched, and ſo ſhall lament and pity thee. Upon this, he ſaid, he taught him, at ſix ſeveral times, to groan, and mourn, and roll, and caſt up his Eyes, &c. and bad him accuſe ſome body or other that was accounted a Witch. This was in *Lent*, and about *Eaſter* following he practiſed his Tricks; and ſome Papiſts perſuaded him to ſeek for help of ſome Catholick Prieſts. He ſaid three had tried to cure him; and though he had not ſeen the Prieſt's Narrative before, yet his Confeſſion agrees with it.

The Biſhop ask'd him, Whether he did not deſign to have yielded to their Exorciſms? He ſaid, he did; but he continued his counterfeiting ſo long, becauſe much People reſorted to him, and brought him good things, and becauſe he was not willing to go to School again. He

ſtay'd with the Biſhop till he had recovered his Strength; and the next Summer Aſſizes, held at *Stafford*, *July* 26. 1621, before Sir *Peter Warburton*, and Sir *Humphrey Winch*, his Majeſty's Juſtices of Aſſize, the Boy craved Pardon firſt of God Almighty, and then deſired the Woman there preſent to forgive him; and laſtly, requeſted the whole Country, whom he had ſcandalized, to admit of that his hearty Confeſſion for their Satisfaction.

The Book is concluded with an Examination of Mr. *Thomas Nechils*, a Recuſant, to whom Mr. *Wheeler* gave a written Copy of that Narrative, which is abridged in the beginning of this Relation.

The Seventh Relation.

Richard Hathaway's *Caſe, taken out of his Tryal, as it was printed, by the Appointment of the Right Honourable the Lord Chief Juſtice* Holt.

Richard *Hathaway*, Apprentice to *Thomas Wellyn*, a Blackſmith in *Southwark*, had either real Convulſions, or counterfeit Fits, at the time when he was bound firſt to his Maſter. When he had ſerved about three Years, he was thought to be ſo ill, that he was put into the the Hoſpital, and was judged to be a very miſerable Spectacle, lying in ſtrange Fits, and going

ing double; and after ſeven Weeks was turned out as incurable.

In *September* 1690, he ſaid he was bewitched, and vomited great Numbers of Pins, and ſeemed to be dumb and blind, and was thought to live without Meat for ten Weeks together, tho' he was put with Keepers into an empty Houſe, a great part of the Time, and had a Bed bought on purpoſe, and was watched Day and Night by Perſons that were Strangers to him. One of his Watchers depoſed, That a Lump of Hair, looſe Pins, a Stump of a Nail, half a Nutſhel, and two or three Pieces of Stone came from him by Stool. A ſecond Witneſs confirmed this, and added, That he ſtood over him at the Time with a drawn Sword in his Hand. His Face would be drawn on one ſide. He foamed at the Mouth, and crooked Pins were found in the Foam. His Head was bent to the Reins of his Back; and he went ſometimes almoſt upon his Ankles. He would lie as if he was dead, and once was brought to himſelf by Cupping-Glaſſes. Screeking and other Noiſes were heard in the Bed, and about the Houſe; and Charms were applied to him and were ſaid to do him good. It was alſo depoſed, That he barked like a Dog, and in his Fits burnt like a Flame of Fire.

The Perſon that he accuſed of the Witchcraft, was one *Sarah Morduck*, of the ſame Pariſh. He intimated by Signs, that if he might ſcratch her he ſhould be well. He did ſcratch her, and then he eat and drank, and had his Sight, and was well for ſix Weeks together.

After

After that he ſeem'd to be ill again, and ſignified that ſhe had bewitched him again, and he muſt ſcratch her again. Upon this the aforeſaid *Sarah Morduck* was aſſaulted in her own Houſe, and grievouſly abuſed; her Hair and Face torn; ſhe was kicked, thrown to the Ground, ſtamped on, and threatned to be put into a Horſe-Pond, to be tried by Swimming, and very hardly eſcaped with her Life. In hopes to avoid theſe Dangers, ſhe removed out of *Southwark*, and lodged in *London*; but ſtill ſhe was not ſuffered to be in Safety, but was followed in the Streets, and often thought her ſelf in danger of being pulled in Pieces.

About *Eaſter* 1701, ſhe was carried before Sir *Thomas Lane*, and was ſtript and ſearched by his Order, and *Hathaway* ſcratched her before him, and then he eat and drank, and was thought to be well. Sir *Thomas* committed her, and *Hathaway* continued free from his Fits. Near the Time of Tryal, the Prayers of ſeveral Churches were deſired, and Money was gathered for him; between ſix and ſeven Pounds at one Collection; and other Sums at other Times, to bear his Charges to the Aſſizes.

In the latter end of *July*, at *Guilford* Aſſizes, this *Sarah Morduck* was tried before the Right Honourable the Lord Chief Juſtice *Holt*, and was acquitted, and *Richard* himſelf was committed as a Cheat and Impoſtor: But both Judge and Jury, and Witneſſes were ſlandered, as if they had not done fairly.

For

For several Days after his Commitment to the *Marshalsea*, he eat, and drank, and slept; but some time after, he was again as if under the Power of Witchcraft, dumb and fasting.

That it might be certain whether he did really live without Meat or not, my Lord Chief Justice put him into the House of Mr. *Kensy*, a Surgeon, in *November* following, that he might make Tryal of him.

March 25, 1702, this *Hathaway* was tried before the Right Honourable the Lord Chief Justice *Holt*, and Mr. Baron *Hatsell*, in *Southwark*, the Place in which the Fact was best known, and where any Witnesses might appear without Charge.

On *Hathaway*'s Side, these Things were sworn that I have mentioned already.

To convict him of Imposture, it was deposed, That on purpose for an Experiment, Dr. *Martin*, Minister of the Parish, had contrived, that he scratch'd another Woman, when he thought he had scratch'd this *Sarah Morduck*; and upon that he opened his Eyes; but being told he had scratch'd the wrong Woman, he pretended to be blind and dumb again: And the manner of his doing it was such, as shewed him a crafty Fellow, taking care of himself; for he felt her Arm four Times over before he would scratch her.

To prove that his vomiting Pins was by a Trick, it was deposed, That immediately after he had vomited great Numbers, in appearance, upon the Ground, and was going to vomit more,

care

care being taken that he ſhould vomit into a Chamber-Pot, and his Hands being kept down below it, there was not a Pin in the Pot, but a great many crooked ones in his Pockets, in readineſs to have play'd his Tricks with.

Some of the Noiſes that were ſaid to be made in the Bed, were ſhewed to be made by his own Feet ſcratching the Bed-Poſt.

Beſides what he got by Gifts and Collections, it was proved that he had tried to make a Gain, by printing a Narrative of his own Caſe.

With reſpect to his Faſting, it was ſaid by one of his own Witneſſes, that there came from him five Times more than he took. After he was at Mr. *Kenſy*'s Houſe, it was proved that he made Water, and tried to conceal it, by hiding it over the Bed's-Teſter: And after two Days faſting, and refuſing to take any Thing from Mr. *Kenſy*, for fear leſt he ſhould really ſtarve himſelf, rather than own his Knavery, Mr. *Kenſy* contrived to let him have Meat in a private Way, by this Device; He pretended to fall out with his Maid in *Hathaway*'s hearing, and ſaid ſhe gave him Meat; and therefore he gave her Warning to be gone. She carried on the Deſign, and told him ſhe was as ready to be gone as he was to have her go; and after this feigned Quarrel ſhe ſpake kindly to *Richard*, and bad him take nothing from her Maſter, for while ſhe ſtay'd ſhe would take Care of him. After this he took Meat from her; but a Child being in the Room, he pointed, that that might not ſee him. He eat and drank any Thing that ſhe gave him,

Ale

Ale, Brandy, Fish, Pudding, Mutton, &c. Once he was drunk, and spew'd, and covered his Vomit with Ashes: But if either Mr. *Kensy*, or any one else offered him any, he refused to take it; and when he had eaten heartily, he would shew them his Belly clung up to his Back, as though there had been nothing in it. The Maid saw this openly, Mr. *Kensy* saw it through a private Hole; and once he had four Neighbours with him that saw it as well as he. He eat in this manner for eleven Days together, and yet pretended to continue his Fast. If they asked him how many Weeks he had fasted before he came to Mr. *Kensy*'s House, he counted ten upon his Fingers? If they asked him how many Weeks he had fasted since his coming thither? he counted two, tho' they had seen him eat eleven Days of the two Weeks.

When they had Proof enough, Mr. *Kensy* told him he was discover'd, and said his Friends were in Custody, and had confess'd the whole Matter. Upon that he cry'd passionately, and said he would tell the Lord Chief Justice the whole Truth, and asked, If his Mother was safe? But my Lord not being at his Chamber, he, in about an Hour after, recanted, and said again that he was bewitched.

These Things were deposed at large by many and substantial Witnesses; insomuch, that the Jury, without going from the Bar, returned him in Guilty.

Some Months after, my Lord Chief Justice *Holt* past Sentence upon him, That he should suffer Imprisonment a Year, and stand in the Pillory three Times.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVI.

A Conclusion of the DIALOGUE.

Jurym. I Will not give you the Trouble of any farther Examples of this ſort. I think I may now venture to ſay as a merry Gentleman I have heard of, *That that Judge that hangs a Witch, will never be thought a Conjurer:* But, however, let me put one Word farther; When *Jane Wenham*'s Caſe had turned Mens Thoughts that Way, and ſeveral Pamphlets were written upon that Subject, one came out with this Title, *The Impoſſibility of Witchcraft; plainly proving from Scripture and Reaſon, That there never was a Witch: And that it is both irrational and impious to believe there ever was.* I do not remember, that in any part of our *Dialogue* you have ventur'd ſo far: And therefore ſome will think that in ſeveral Parts you have been too cautious, and left Things too doubtful.

Clerg. I had rather err on that Hand than the other. We none of us know the fartheſt Side of God's Works or Permiſſions. There is ſomething doubtful in all Subjects; and as proving *Negatives*, eſpecially undefin'd *Negatives*, muſt be very difficult, I have deſignedly kept off from peremptory Definitions of the utmoſt Bounds of bad Mens Guilt, or the Puniſhments they deſerve for it: But for all that, I hope I have both aſſerted and prov'd as much as we need to know and

and that which will be of uſe, and which I doubt not, but Time and Experience will confirm farther.

And here I think I may venture to ſay, That I have fully prov'd, That the Principles that the Witch-finders have proceeded upon, are unnatural, contradictory, and abſurd; and if the Premiſſes be prov'd falſe, who but a Mad-man will believe the Concluſion?

I have ſhewn by many Examples, That the Spectral Evidence is ſo far from being legal Proof, that it is of no Weight, nor ought to be to any one's Prejudice.

I have prov'd by *Hiſtorical Examples*, That *Confeſſions* of old Women, in theſe Caſes, are not to regarded; that ſome are extorted, ſome ridiculous; and that when they confeſs *Impoſſibilities*, *Nature* is to be our Rule of Judging; and the poor Creatures are to be thought, in that Particular, under a Degree of Madneſs.

I have ſhewn, That filling Peoples Heads with Stories of *Devils*, and *Spirits*, and *Witches*, corrupts the Mind, and brings them under thoſe Frights and Afflictions that are uſually thought, and may, for ought I know, ſometimes be Diabolical.

I have ſhewn plainly, That accuſing, and proſecuting, and hanging in that Caſe, doth not *cure* but *increaſe* the Evil; and that when a Nation or People are in ſuch a State, they are under a very great Calamity.

And tho' it be hard to prove *Negatives*, yet I doubt not but I may add, That the whole Notion

tion of *Suckling Imps* is Nonsense: That a plain *Compact* with the Devil was never prov'd; and that an *implicit Compact* is a mere Imagination: And I may add, That through the whole Scripture there is no Character of any such Witch as we mean, who can send Devils and Diseases to her Neighbours. And I hope I have pointed out an easy Way of clearing our Nation of these disgraceful and mischievous Superstitions; and that no Way is harder than executing our Statute with Impartiality. These Things are as much as I desire to know: And that what I have said while I have been proving of them, may not be made an ill Use of, by those who are too apt to take Things wrong, tho' I have all along guarded against Misunderstandings as much as I could, I will add two Sermons for Prevention of Mistakes, one concerning the *Truth of Christianity*; and the other containing the *Doctrine of good and evil Angels*; with practical Inferences drawn from them: And as all real Truths are, and ever must be uniform, and of a Piece with one another, I doubt not but these will give Support to the Notions of this Book. Whereas conniving at Lies and popular Errors, tho' it may seem to help, it does in reality give the greatest of Prejudices to wise and understanding Persons. *Dum per Mendacium tenditur ut fides doceatur, id demum agitur ut nulli habetur Fides.* When a Lye is made use of to support the Faith, the Effect of it is, that no Body can be believed; but the Faith it self is thought a Fiction. St. *Aug. ad Consentium*, c. 4.

SERMON I.

The Christian Religion Demonstrated.

JOHN XV. 24.

If I had not done amongst them the Works which none other Man did, they had not had Sin: But now have they both seen, and hated, both me and my Father.

BEFORE I enter upon the Explication of these Words, we may take Notice, That this Age, in which God hath been pleas'd to give us our Lot of Life, is very inquisitive about the Truth of Religion, and very prying into its Foundations.

The Enquiries that are made so frequently, and sometimes too irreverently, I am willing to hope, do not proceed from any Aversion to Religion, that is greater in our Age than in former; but rather from its encrease of Learning, that dives and searches after the bottom of all Things; and since some venture to call for our Proof even of Christianity it self, tho' it hath been so often

and wonderfully attested both by Miracles, and God's Providence, and by a long Experience of its great Usefulness to the World; and since the Apostle St. *Paul* requires us to be ready to render a Reason of our Belief even of that, I have chosen these Words, with design to lay before you a short View of our Proof of it.

And in order to this, the first Point to be cleared, is, Why our Saviour rests the Proof of his Doctrines so much upon his Miracles? Why doth he say, That *if he had not done amongst them such Works as no Deceiver ever had done, they had had no Sin?* For if he had done no miraculous Work at all, would not People however have been bound to have heard him teaching of them *Repentance* and *Virtue?* St. *John* Baptist did no Miracle; and yet would it not have been a very great Sin, if the People of that Age had not both heard and obey'd, when he taught them with such Demonstration as he taught? Many other Prophets wrought no Miracles that we know of, but only sow'd the Seed of Truth amongst them; and yet, were they not bound to repent and be good? Yes, verily: And to this Day Men are bound at their Peril to hear and observe the meanest of us Ministers, that call upon them to be good in the Sight of God. Nature teaches this through all Parts of the Creation. God's Works teach this in such a Voice, as even the Fowls of Heaven, in some degree, understand and observe. *The Heavens declare the Glory of God, and the Firmament shews his Handy-work. Day unto Day utters Speech,*

Speech, and Night unto Night shews this Divine Knowledge. Whenever God's Laws of Truth and Justice are publish'd from his Altars, by the least valu'd of his Ministers, all Nature resounds, repeats and enforces the Voice in such Language, as leaves every Sinner obnoxious to God's Judgments, both here and hereafter, for every Transgression.

Upon what Ground then doth our Saviour say, *That if he had not done amongst them such Works as no other Man ever had done, they had not had Sin?* To which of his Doctrines might they have suspended their Faith, and yet not have been under the guilt of sinful Unbelief? And to this I answer, not only to the high and mysterious Points of our Religion, but even to these plain ones, that he was the *Messias* and *Son* of *God*, and the appointed Judge of Quick and Dead. They might have delay'd the Entrance of themselves into his Church, and have respited their Belief of all those Parts of Christianity, which we now call *Reveal'd* Religion, in Distinction from the *Natural*. No piercing Eye cou'd read those Doctrines in the Face of the Sky. Tho' the Contemplations of God and his Government may teach us, That the Children of such a Father have a *Birth-Right* and Title to hope for Good; and such a Title and Ground of Hope, as none but a *Fool*, or *profane* Person, like *Esau*, wou'd despise or sell by an unworthy Life, which made him uncapable of the Good of it: Yet, that *Christ* shou'd be the *First-born* of that Inheritance, and the *Saviour* of

those that believ'd and follow'd him in the way of true Virtue; neither Sun nor Moon cou'd teach us that Point; nor were Men bound to believe it, till they saw it confirm'd by such Miracles, as cou'd be wrought by no *Deceiver*, nor by any but by God himself, or those that acted by his Power.

That we, in our Day, may have our Faith strong, not only in the great Points of *Truth*, Justice, and Moral Virtue, but in the additional Reveal'd Truths, which add an irresistible Life and Power to all those Laws, which tho' *Right* are but *Weak* without them; I will lay before you a short View of the *Natural History* of our Saviour's Life, which was not only adorn'd with some *few* Divine Miracles, scatter'd here and there to recommend it; but was rather one continu'd miraculous Work from one end of it to the other.

And to take this Matter from the beginning, we must first take notice, That there were upon Record in the common *Bible* of the *Jewish* Church, many known and ancient Prophecies of a great Person or Prince, commonly known by the Name of the *Messias*, that shou'd be born of *David*'s Line, in the Town of *Bethlehem*, the old Seat of *David*'s Family, and about that Age in which our Saviour was born.

Many remarkable Things were foretold of him, his Name, the Quality of his Virgin-Mother, what great Works he should perform: And particularly, that he should set up a Church or Spiritual Kingdom, in which both *Jew* and *Gen-*

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tile ſhou'd be united in the right Way of worſhipping the only Living and True God.

Theſe Prophecies were tranſlated into other Languages, diſperſed into many Hands, and are to be ſeen yet, not only in the Writings of Chriſtians, but in the Books of the *Jews* and Heathens; and they had rais'd a general Expectation in that Age, that ſuch a wonderful Perſon ſhou'd appear in the World about that Time.

Now theſe Prophecies agreeing ſo punctually with our Saviour's Character, and that great effect which his Preaching hath actually had in the World; to ſay the leaſt that can be ſaid, they muſt be a ſtrong Inducement to the moſt cautious Perſon to *conſider* and weigh the following Arguments with the more Regard; for Prophecies have actually been one of the moſt common Ways whereby Providence hath pointed out eminent Perſons to the World, and given them ſuch Honour and Authority as were needful to them, for the accompliſhing thoſe good Works of which God made them Inſtruments to their ſeveral Ages.

But to advance a Step farther; Thoſe Circumſtances that attend the Conception of St. *John* Baptiſt, and our Bleſſed Saviour, and the remarkable Paſſages at their Birth, are ſuch as prepare us farther for the Belief of great Things in their Life.

And in the firſt Place, it was viſible in the Face of the World, that St. *John* Baptiſt was born after his Mother was advanc'd far beyond the common Time of Bearing; that the whole

Country perceiv'd that there was something more than ordinaay in his very Birth.

It was also manifest, that his Father, *Zacharias*, was struck dumb from before the Time of his Conception, and continu'd so from that Time to his Circumcision, almost a Year. This was a publick known Thing, because *Zacharias* was a Person of Eminence, not less amongst them, than a *Bishop* amongst us; and his Dumbness began in the most publick Manner that cou'd be, in the Temple at *Jerusalem*, in the midst of his Ministration, before all the People: And though such a Dumbness might easily have been pretended, if it cou'd have been foreseen that it shou'd be of use; yet how cou'd Man's Eye foresee any use of it before the Child was born? Could his Father, before he was born, design him for the Fore-runner of the *Messias*, or wou'd it not be Madness for any Man to make such a Supposition?

Then at our Saviour's Birth, *Shepherds*, who cou'd as little foresee any use of their Declaration, said, That they saw *Angels*, and heard their Voices; and three eminent Strangers came from a far Country, to enquire after a wonderful Child born at that Time in that Land: And their Journey was made not only the common *News* but *Astonishment* of the Nation, by a Circumstance that cou'd no ways have been pretended, if false; and that was, *Herod*'s Murder of all the Children in that same Village, which was fore-told to be the *Birth-Place* of the *Messias*, and was then the *Birth-Place* of our Saviour. And

And this Cruelty of *Herod* is upon Record in other Histories, as well as ours, and are to be seen at this Day.

Now let us pause a little upon these Accidents, before we advance to the main Points. These are but preparatory Matters, but they are of great Moment; for it would be strange for two Deceivers to contrive their Work, and engage Princes in it before they were born, and again, while in their Swadling Bands. If any would fancy, that afterward they might lay their Plot, and contrive their Parts so, as one shou'd be the *Messias*, and the other his *Fore-runner*; yet how came Things to fall out beforehand in their Infancy, so mightily to their Advantage? It is so plain, that it cannot be deny'd, that these were preparatory Works of Divine Providence, drawing the Eyes of the World towards them, and pointing them out from the beginning; for by their own Contrivance they could neither have made, that such Things shou'd really have been true, nor have made them be believ'd if they had not.

From this we may proceed next to the Life and Death of St. *John* Baptist. The Account that we have of him, is, that as he was Sancti-fied from the Womb, so he dedicated himself to a Life of Fasting and Prayer, and Retirement from the World, and all the Instances of a severe Virtue. When he was about thirty Years old, that the Laws of the *Jewish* Church allow'd of it, he took upon him the Office of a publick Preacher; he boldly rebuk'd Vice in the greatest,

where he ran most Hazard; he preach'd Repentance to a corrupt Age, with such a burning Zeal, and shining Light, that his pious Exhortations, join'd with what they knew of his extraordinary Birth, awaken'd the Nation, and made the very Rulers send to him to know, whether he was not then come, their long-look'd for *Messias*. But he did not assume to himself that Honour; he told them plainly, that he was not; but he added, that that new State, which was the Heavenly Kingdom, Government, or Day of the *Messias* was at Hand; and pointing to our Blessed Saviour, declar'd, that he was the very Person who was Lord of it: But as for himself, he freely own'd, that his Distance below him was so great, that he did not think himself worthy to stoop down and unloose his Shoe-Latchet.

Now this Holy Man, this Martyr of God, who in the *Jewish* History as well as ours, hath the Character of a Person of great Virtue; he bearing this Testimony, at a Time when our Saviour had not so much as one Disciple to follow him; and before it cou'd be known, save by the Inspiration of God, what strange Things wou'd follow after, this makes another great Addition to that strong Evidence which we have for our Holy Religion.

I know commonness and carelessness can pass off any Thing; but if we consider this Witness of St. *John* fairly, the more we think of it, the more its Evidence must constrain us; for the real Author of any Change so great as our Savi-

our made, cou'd not be foreseen before it was begun, by any Means, saving by that Light, whereby God foreshews Men his own Intentions.

But these are far from being all our Evidence of our Holy Religion. Our Saviour's own Life affords us more and greater Proofs than these; for the violent Death of St. *John* Baptist, did not discourage our Saviour from proceeding in this Work. It wou'd have done it without Question, if it had been only by Agreement that St. *John* had given him his Testimony: But knowing himself to be truly sent from above, he went forward with his Work, tho' he saw what hard Usage St. *John* had met with, and knew how much greater Sufferings were prepar'd for him.

And in considering these Arguments that arise from our Saviour's Doctrines and Actions, we may first take Notice, That the Holy Religion which he taught, contains the noblest Truths, and the best Rules of Life that were ever taught or published to the World: Without mingling burdensome Superstitions, or unprofitable Questions, he instructed his Disciples in a right Sense of God, his present Providence, and future Judgment. By a sound Knowledge of these, he exalts the Soul of Man to a Divine Worship, and firm Hope in God, and lays the strongest Foundation that was ever laid for a great Sincerity, Probity and good Conscience towards Man. In all States, and to all Persons, he taught a *perfect* Way; and his moving cogent Arguments gave his Words such Spirit and Power, as made his Religion be

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as much above the Moralities of others, as a Living Man is above a Marble Statue.

And to that ſtrong and *ſafe* Evidence that ariſes from this, we muſt add thoſe aſtoniſhing Works that he ſpeaks of in the Text; twice he fed the Multitude with a few Loaves and Fiſhes; and all their Senſes had ſuch full Satisfaction of the Truth of the Miracle, that even the looſe and careleſs Part of his Hearers follow'd him afterward for the *Loaves*. Now let the moſt wanton Wit ſit down and conſider which Way our Saviour cou'd deceive and impoſe, either upon his Apoſtles, or the People, in ſuch a Caſe as that.

But to proceed. No Diſtemper was ever found too hard, or too far gone for him to cure. He cur'd *Blindneſs* where the Eye was wanting; *Lameneſs* where the Hand was wither'd; and *Impotence* of eight and thirty Years. He drove the *Fiſhes* of the Sea into the Apoſtle's Nets in Multitudes. There could be no ſecret Plot with thoſe unſeen Creatures: And he wrought that Miracle ſeveral Times; and once commanded a Fiſh to carry a Piece of Money to St. *Peter*'s Hook. The Holy *Angels* appeared to, miniſtred, and waited on him. Ten ſeveral Times are mentioned of their Miniſtration, and the evil Angels were ſubject to him. Our Saviour looſed thoſe that were afflicted or bound by them; and whether they were *Lunatics* or *Dæmoniacs*, he cur'd them all by a Word of Power. He walk'd upon the Waters, commanded the Winds, and even *rais'd* the *Dead*. Three ſeveral Times he gave

gave that great Proof of his divine Power, in such manner, and with such Circumstances, as leave no room for Doubt or Suspicion. *Jairus*'s Daughter was after the Minstrels had begun to lament her Death according to the Custom of those Times. The *Widow*'s Son at *Nain*, was before the good People of the Town, who were carrying of him out upon his Bier to his Funeral. And his raising *Lazarus*, was before a great Company, after he had been no less than four Days dead and bury'd.

Now do not such Miracles as these make a Proof sufficient? Can Atheistical Men confound these with the Wonders of Nature, or Feats of Devils? If there stood now a Bier with a dead Body in this Church, while I am preaching of the future State as made known to us by *Jesus*; and if in the midst of the Discourse, the dead Body should rise up in our Sight, would any Atheist or *Sadducee* pretend, that the future State was not sufficiently prov'd by such a Miracle. Men belie even the Hardness of their own Hearts, if they should pretend that they could think that such a Miracle would not be Evidence enough.

But to proceed from this to the Consideration of his own Death: A voluntary Death or Martyrdom is the most convincing Proof that is in any Man's Power to give of his own Sincerity. We cannot name a greater: And this our blessed Saviour added to all the others that I have spoken to already. For he came voluntarily up to *Jerusalem*, and he put himself into the midst of his Enemies, tho' he was told that they had past the

the peremptory Sentence, that they would take him off the firſt time that he came into their Hands. His Apoſtles were amaz'd when they perceiv'd him reſolv'd upon that; and as he was ſpeaking of it to them, that ſo it muſt be, St. *Peter* took upon him to diſſuade him from it. And if he had been only like another righteous Perſon, or Prophet, it would have been very lawful and prudent for him to have retir'd after he had deliver'd his Meſſage, as many holy Prophets had done before; and as his Apoſtles earneſtly deſir'd that he would. But if he had ſpar'd himſelf in that manner, our Sins had wanted their Sacrifice and Propitiation; all virtuous Perſons, who ſhould ever die in righteous Cauſes, had wanted their great Example and Comforter; and his Doctrines had wanted the Seal of his Blood and dying Witneſs: And therefore, tho' he had in his Sight the Death of St. *John Baptiſt*, beheaded but two Years before, he went voluntarily amongſt the ſame ſort of Men, who thirſted for his Blood, and who he knew wou'd draw it: And he endur'd his bitter Pains, and the baſe Reproaches they added to them, with ſuch Reſignation, Gravity, and Conſtancy of Mind, that the very manner of his Death, together with the divine Tokens that God ſhew'd for him at that time, made his Friends begin, from that very Day, to take heart and grow bold; and it made many, even of his Enemies, confeſs, that he was the Son of God, as he had ſaid.

Now

Now this is the Teſtimony of the *Blood:* It is the Seal of *Martyrdom,* and the higheſt Witneſs on his part that could be given, of his being ſincere in all that he had ſaid or done.

But neither is this the end of our Evidence: For miraculous Proofs of our Saviour's Truth, and God's Approbation, continu'd after his Death, as wonderful as they had been before. He roſe out of his Grave on the third Day, as he had ſaid he ſhou'd; and he appear'd to ſo many as may give undeniable Satisfaction to all that will ſubmit to ſufficient Evidence.

And here we are to conſider, that his Appearances after his Reſurrection were not like *Apparitions* or *Spirits,* that on ſome great Occaſions have appear'd to ſome Perſons; tho' that would have been a material Point for Proof of a future State in general. That would have confuted, as all ſuch Caſes do confute, our modern *Sadducees,* that deny the Exiſtence of ſeparate Souls or Spirits: But his Appearance was far more, even *ſubſtantially* and *bodily* before them. He talk'd with them; he eat and drank with them, and let them feel and handle him: And this not to *one* only, or *two,* in the Night-time, but in the Day, to ten, eleven, and at laſt five hundred. He ſhew'd himſelf thus, not once only, or twice, but ten ſeveral times, that are particularly taken notice of, beſides others mention'd in a more general way. He inſtructed them in the things that they ſhould teach and do. He breath'd on them, bleſs'd them, and at laſt went to Heaven in their ſight, at-

tended by holy Angels. They were sure that they were not deceiv'd in these things; and they knew they were not wrought for their sakes only, but for some wonderful End of Providence: And therefore they neither durst nor were able to keep them secret. They were so astonish'd at them, that they publish'd and preach'd, and wrote and declar'd to all Men, what they had seen and heard, and their Hands had handled. They soon found, that by spreading abroad those Truths, they should bring upon themselves the Power and Revenges of the same Men that had crucified their Master: But it was all one to them. That Assurance that they had of the Truth constrain'd them to run all hazards; and therefore they declar'd those things boldly, to those very Rulers themselves, that had had the greatest share in that wicked Action. To stop the Course of this new Doctrine, the *Jews* ston'd St. *Stephen*, and beheaded St. *James*, and gave out Commissions to apprehend any that should call upon that Name. That forc'd those few Christians, that then were, upon that hard part of leaving their Friends and Country; but still they maintain'd that same Truth, without so much as one Person discovering any Fraud either in our blessed Saviour, or his Apostles after him. As indeed they were but *Men*, and subject to the same Passions that others were, they had Divisions and Disputes, and particularly about the Obligation of the Law of *Moses*: But, which is a mighty Confirmation of their Sincerity, in those too fierce Contentions that

they

they had, neither ſide cou'd charge the other with any Fraud about their Teſtimony. Then they had Deſertions in the time of Perſecution, as it was no wonder that they had, conſidering how fierce their Perſecutions were. They had many that, like *Judas*, apoſtatiz'd out of Fear and Covetouſneſs; and if they had known any evil of them, they would have been glad to have publiſh'd it upon the Houſe tops; becauſe ſuch Diſcoveries wou'd have juſtify'd their forſaking them: But, which is a wonderful Proof or Demonſtration rather of their Sincerity, there is not one ſingle Inſtance of ſuch a Diſcovery. As *Judas*, who had been Witneſs of his Privacies, cou'd lay nothing to his Charge when he had betray'd him, others cou'd ſay as little. They were ſo far from making Diſcoveries, that their after-Behaviours are clear Proofs of his Truth. For, as *Judas* ſunk under the Weight of his own guilty Conſcience, others, generally when the Storms were over, begg'd to be reſtor'd to the Church with Tears and Penance.

And to all theſe things, it is to be added, that theſe Facts were written in the very ſame Age, and from the very time that they were done. If they had not been both publiſh'd and fix'd unalterably by the ſacred Records of the Churches, in the very Age of the Apoſtles, all theſe Arguments had left us ſubject to great Fears and Doubts. They might have been like the Legends of *Apollonius*, or Popiſh Saints. They wou'd not in that caſe have been worth a wiſe

Man's

Man's reading: But when the Apostles preach'd his Miracles, they cou'd add, *As ye your selves also know.* And they wrote them at the same time, and numerous Churches were established in most of the great Cities in the World; for the Churches were actually settled with Elders over them, when the *Epistles* were written by St. *Paul*, and the other Apostles. That is visible from the Matter of the Epistles and their Directions: And the Gospels were written before them; for St. *Luke* wrote the *Acts* of the Apostles, soon after St. *Paul* had been at *Rome:* and he had written his *Gospel* before that. His Gospel was *the former Treatise*, that he spake of in the first Verse of the *Acts:* And when he wrote that Gospel, he spake of others that had written before him; for he begins, *Forasmuch as many have taken in hand to set forth in order a Declaration of those things which are most surely believ'd amongst us, I also*, &c. And some of those many that he spake of were, St. *Matthew*, and St. *Mark*, whose Gospels are in our Hands to this Day.

So that, *in that Age*, while the things were *fresh*, the divine Histories of those publick Actions were written by several Persons that have shewn a wonderful Impartiality in their way of writing. *Sacraments* and *Holy-Days*, and religious *Rites*, and a successive Order of Teachers have been continued from the very time of our Saviour's own Institution of the Twelve and Seventy. These are the common Marks that distinguish true Histories from Fables: And I must add

add to all, that the Christians which made up those first Churches, were Men of the greatest Piety and Virtue that were ever found amongst Mankind, and great Numbers of them seal'd the Truth of these Facts with their Blood.

Now let us judge of this Matter with all the Caution that we can use without Perverseness. Had not our Saviour good reason to say, as in the Text, *that he had done such things as no other Man had ever done before him?* For did ever any Deceiver appear in the World with such Attestations from God as these were? Did ever any *False-Christ* or *Impostor* bring such Miracles, and such Proofs of them, with such convincing Circumstances from the very time? We shall find none such though we search from one end of Heaven to the other, and from the beginning of the World to this Day. And therefore, though Deceivers and their lying Wonders make a Blaze for a little time, and then vanish into Smoak, and come to nothing; the Gates of Hell have not, and never shall be able to prevail against these.

But if these things were so; what cou'd be the reason why so small a part of his own Nation, and such a smaller still of the *Rulers* believ'd on him? For that is the great Objection that can be made against this Foundation of our holy Religion: That though many very considerable *Jews* did both believe and suffer for him; though none would have done so, if the things had not been well attested; and though his very Enemies cou'd not deny his Miracles;

and the first Writers against Christianity, even *Celsus* and others, suppose them; yet the greater and the ruling part of his own Nation did not embrace his Religion; but rejected both him and that: And what might the reason of that be, if those Facts were, indeed, such as I have represented?

And the reason of their rejecting him, was the same that they had for their stoning and killing most of the Prophets that God had sent before him; and that was, wrong Notions in some, and Wickedness of Heart in others. In some it was weakness of Virtue, and in others love of Life, and fear of Persecution.

But more particularly; some puzzled themselves and obstructed their own Faith, by wrong Notions, as if *Belzebub* had assisted him to the Performance of his Miracles. They had magnified the Power of the Devil, and by believing Lies, had persuaded themselves that all his Works were by *Magic:* For a mere Conjurer, they said, could not only walk upon the Water, but fly through the Air; command the Winds; raise up Spirits, and dead Men; prepare Feasts; change himself into other Shapes, and kill or cure. Tho' *Celsus*, as *Origen* tells him, being a Philosopher, did not himself believe such Tales, yet because he found that to be the most puzzling Argument to obscure Christ's Miracles, he made use of that Objection, as the *Pharisees* did in our Saviour's own Life-time: For if they could make People believe that the Devil could do *as much*; it was the easiest way to make them think that he might do those.

Others

Others that believ'd that the Devil cou'd not open the Eyes of the Blind, yet were puzzled; becauſe they knew not how to reconcile his Doctrines to the Law of *Moſes*: They were ſure God ſpake by *Moſes*, and imagining that Chriſt's Religion was a Contradiction to his ancient Law, they knew not of a great while how to reconcile thoſe Caſes, and therefore ſuſpended their Faith, or rather tried if they cou'd not practiſe both.

But others had worſe Reaſons for the hindrance of their Faith. Amongſt theſe, in ſome the Reaſon was *Spite* and *Anger*, becauſe he had been a bold Reprover of their Hypocriſies and vicious Lives; and their Paſſions made them blind. In others love of Pleaſure was the reaſon. Whatever became of his Miracles, it was a determin'd Point with them, That they could not bring themſelves from a Life of Idleneſs and Mirth, to that grave, and diligent, and ſelf-denying Life that he taught them. Love of the World was a Reaſon with others. They had ſomething elſe to do, than to inquire after the Doctrines and Actions of a new Teacher; eſpecially when one of the Doctrines that he taught to ſome, was, that they ſhould ſell all that they had and follow him. Some were ſo blinded with the fine things of Life, that they were offended becauſe he was not *Rich* and *Great*. They thought God beheld Men in the ſame Glaſs that they did: And becauſe they were us'd to deſpiſe the Poor, they could not believe that a poor Man could be of any Eminence any way. But in moſt

the reaſon of not receiving our Saviour's Religion, was fear of Reproach and Perſecution: And as the Violence of his Enemies made *Nicodemus* come to him by Night, and made St. *Peter* openly deny him, and the other Apoſtles and Chriſtians to leave their own Country, and wander about Strangers under all kind of Hardſhips; what wonder if it made others reſolve, not to ſee what they ſaw, but keep quiet at home, and ſleep in a whole Skin? Moſt Men do ſo now in ſuch dangerous Caſes; and we cannot wonder if they did ſo then. Conſidering Mens natural Fear of Death, and the certain Death that they ſaw before them, it was rather a wonder that ſo many confeſs'd and follow'd him as there did: And nothing but irreſiſtible Evidence could have made ſo many wiſe and learned Men receive him under ſuch Hardſhips.

If it be objected then, that the greater part of his own Age and Nation did not openly receive his Religion: It is no wonder that they did not, conſidering the known Wickedneſs of that Age, and the great Perſecution they muſt bear if they were of it. There is no wonder in the thing, if that be conſider'd rightly; nor is there any difficulty in aſſigning the Reaſons of their Unbelief. The Reaſons were, a ſuperſtitious Belief of the Devil's Power in ſome; and ungodly Policy and Fear of the *Romans* in others; and love of their Places and Preferments in the Rulers: and in the People the Reaſons were, Love of Pleaſure, and Cares of the World,

and Bigotry, and Superstition, and Carelesness, and want of virtuous Courage, and fear of Persecution. These Fears, and Frailties, and Vices, in all Ages and Nations, have over-born many a just Man, and many and many a righteous Cause; and, by the Permission of God, who had great Good to bring out of it, they prevail'd to the crucifying of our Saviour, and the long and cruel Persecution of his Followers, that came after him.

And, as the Nature of the Thing, and the Testimonies of all the first Histories of the Church, bear witness that these were the true Reasons, why that Age rejected our Saviour, notwithstanding he had exceeded both *Moses* and all the Prophets in his Miracles; God Almighty hath confirm'd this Judgment of their Case, by the fearful and amazing Destruction that he sent upon that People.

And that is the true Answer to be given to the Unbelief of that Age. God himself hath given it the justest of all Answers. In that very Age God destroy'd those People, their City, and Temple, according as our blessed Saviour, in the midst of his Sufferings, declar'd he would. For as the meek and patient *Jesus* was led out to his cruel Execution, stooping under his Cross, through the Streets of *Jerusalem*, and many devout Women follow'd, weeping and lamenting the sad Death that he was just a going to suffer, he turn'd to them, and without Dejection, or a broken Mind, but with the same Gravity and Piety that he always spoke with, said he;

Daughters of Jerusalem, weep not for me, but weep for your selves and for your Children: For the Days are coming in which they shall say, Blessed are the Barren, and Wombs that never bore, and the Paps that never gave suck. Before that he had foretold the same thing, and had added, that the Destruction of their then flourishing City and Temple should be such as would not leave one Stone upon another: And as God hath many a time, in other Cases, made the dying Words of righteous Men to be true Prophecies against their Oppressors, he made our Saviour's Words to be such, to the Astonishment of the Beholders. That same Generation that heard his Prophecy, saw and felt the Destruction: And it was with such speaking Circumstances, that there hath hardly been any thing like it since the World began. They found that as they had not made his Religion the Rock of their Salvation, it proved a Stone that ground them to Powder.

And therefore let us establish our selves in our holy Faith, by the Consideration of these things, and rejoice to think, how true, how sincere and well grounded its hopes are. We see our Forefathers did not lightly take up an unprov'd thing, when to the Laws of Reason and Nature they receiv'd, and added, and established this for the National Religion of our Country: And therefore, let us not only receive it in a formal way, as a thing in course, but as a divine Law from above, to which we must bow and bend the Mind and Conscience.

For

For our Evidence for it is in ſome reſpects greater and ſtronger than all this that I have laid down before: For beſides theſe Arguments, we have the Experience of our Saviour's Power, in making good his Promiſe of its *Continuance.* For he not only planted his Religion with great care, and water'd it with his Blood; but declar'd, that in ſpight of Man's Power it ſhould continue till his coming again to Judgment. It ſhould be corrupted indeed greatly; and yet even its own Corruption, tho' one would think it muſt, ſhould not deſtroy it. We have ſeen both its Corruption grievous, and its Continuance for all that, and its Reformation to a happy degree of primitive Truth at leaſt, if not of Virtue. Let us add its ancient Virtue, as well as its ancient Doctrine, and we ſhall have a farther Proof of its Truth, in ſome reſpects more convincing than any of thoſe I have mention'd yet. To the external outward Evidence of Chriſtianity, we ſhall have added an internal Experience and Pleaſure in our own Boſoms. This will be like an Earneſt to us of that divine Reward which is to follow after: And in the hope of that, we ſhall paſs our Days with as much Chearfulneſs and Pleaſure as we ſhall want; and at Death ſhall commend our Souls to God without fear.

SERMON II.

Concerning Angels.

PSALM cxlviii. 2.

Praise ye him all his Angels: Praise ye him all his Hosts.

IN this *Psam*, *David*, or whoever was the Author of it, calls upon all the Creatures and Works of God, in their several Ways, to praise God; and *Angels* being the highest in Order and Excellence, he gives them the first Place in his best Work, and calls upon them to praise him, both alone for their several Blessings, and in those sacred *Bands* or *Hosts* into which they were regularly divided.

And as those plain Truths which the Holy Scriptures teach us concerning their first Creation and present State, afford us many useful Lessons concerning what we may hope or fear for our Nature, that came out from the same Hand, and is

is under the ſame Government; a Diſcourſe upon that Subject cannot be grounded upon a fitter Text than this, which doth not only teach us the Certainty of their Exiſtence, but places them higheſt amongſt the Works of God.

It is a Subject indeed, that, above moſt others, muſt be begun with a remembrance of our own imperfect Natures, which neither can nor ought to pry too nicely into it. When *Manoah*, *Sampſon*'s Father, in the 13th of *Judges*, would enquire the Name of the Angel that had appeared to him, that he might know who he was to give Thanks to, when the Things that he had told him ſhould come to paſs; ſaith that holy Spirit, in the eighteenth Verſe, *Wherefore enquireſt thou after my Name, ſeeing it is ſecret or wonderful?* By that Anſwer it ſeems probable, either that it was not lawful for him to know it; or was ſo wonderful, that he could not underſtand it.

The Author of the Book of *Wiſdom* alſo gives Caution that is fit for us to keep in Mind when we diſcourſe upon ſuch Subjects; the 9th of *Wiſdom*, 19th and 20th Verſes, *Hardly do we gueſs aright at Things that are upon Earth, and with Labour do we find the Things that are before us; but the Things that are in Heaven, who hath ſearched out?* Such ſecret Things therefore belong to the Lord, and to him muſt be left; but thoſe that are revealed belong to us and to our Children, that we may form and frame our Lives according as they make it to be needful for us: And concerning the Holy Angels, theſe Points are taught us.

Their

Their Exiſtence, their Creation, many of their Qualities; the Innocence of ſome, and the Fall of others; the happy Miniſtration of the Good, for the Benefit of good Men; and the Temptations and Devices of the bad.

1. For the certain Exiſtence of Spirits in general.

I begin with this, becauſe in our Saviour's Time there was a Sect of *Sadducees*, that belived neither Angel nor Spirit; and ſome in our own Ages are ſaid to believe as little: And as it is the too eaſy Credulity of ſome that tempts theſe *Sadducees* to deny too much; and as credulous People lade themſelves with dangerous Superſtitions, that are diſhonourable to Providence, and hurtful both to their Neighbours and themſelves, I will firſt premiſe, in Way of Caution and Guard, That we are not to think, that where-ever we find the Word *Angel* or *Devil* in Scripture, we are immediately to think it ſpeaks of a good or evil Spirit really acting in Perſon. The Word *Angel*, from ἀγγέλλω, in it ſelf ſignifies only a *Meſſenger*, *Apoſtle*, *Nuncio*, or *Preacher*, and is us'd to denote, ſometimes, ſome remarkable miraculous Token of God's Preſence; ſometimes ſome Prophet or Miniſter acting in his Name; and ſometimes only dead Inſtruments, that he makes uſe of for the executing of his Will. The Pillar of Fire that went before the *Iſraelites*, is call'd *God's Angel.* As Chriſt is called the *Angel* of *God's Covenant*; ſo the *Miniſters* or *Biſhops* of the Seven Churches in the *Revelations*, are called the *Angels*

Angels of thoſe Churches. And the Winds and Flames of Fire, when us'd by God as *Voices* to teach us, or *Rods* to puniſh us, are called God's Angels or Meſſengers to us. And with reſpect to the evil Spirits, in a large Senſe, all Diſeaſes were by the *Jews* attributed to the Devil as his Works; and in our Days, all Temptations to Sin are, and not unjuſtly, metaphorically at leaſt, aſcrib'd to him, tho' it be alſo a very great and undoubted Truth what St. *James* tells us, *That every Man that is tempted, is drawn away of his own Heart's Luſt.*

I may add farther, That where the Words *Satan* and *Devil* are actually made uſe of, they do not certainly aſſure us that it was a *Devil*, and not a bad Man that is intended in ſuch Places. The Word *Satan*, in its firſt Signification, is only *Enemy* or *Adverſary*; and in the *Old Teſtament*, it is always tranſlated ſo, unleſs ſome ſtrong Reaſon, and the Circumſtances of the Place determine it to mean an evil Spirit, 1 *Sam.* 29. 4. The Lords of the *Philiſtines* would not ſuffer *David* to go with them, for fear, leſt in the Battle, he ſhould prove *Satan*, or an *Enemy* to them. In the Second Book of *Samuel*, *David* uſes the ſame Word of his own Brethren; *Ye Sons of* Zerviah, *Why are ye this Day become Satan or Adverſaries to me.* In the 109th *Pſalm*, Ver. 6. *Set thou an ungodly Man to be Ruler over him, and let Satan ſtand at his right Hand.* But if the Word *Satan* be put in *Engliſh*, as the late learned Biſhop *Patrick* puts it in his Paraphraſe, it is then to be underſtood in

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this more natural Senſe: Let the worſt Man that can be found be appointed to hear his Cauſe, and let his moſt *malicious Adverſary* plead againſt him.

And that gives us an obvious Reaſon why our Saviour call'd St. *Peter* by that Name, *Mark* 8. 33. *Get thee behind me, Satan*; or, get thee behind me, O my Enemy; for in this thou ſavoureſt not the Things that be of God, but the Things that be of Men.

So the Word Διάβολος, or Devil, in its proper Senſe, ſignifies only *Slanderer* or falſe *Accuſer*. 2 Tim. 4. 1, 2, 3. *Know this, that in the laſt Days perilous Times ſhall come: For Men ſhall be Lovers of their own ſelves, covetous, without Affection, Truce-breakers,* Διάβολοι, *falſe Accuſers.* Again, *Titus* 2. 3. *Speak thou the Things that become ſound Doctrine; that the aged Women be in Behaviour as becomes Knowledge, not* Διάβολοι, *not falſe Accuſers, nor given to much Wine,* &c. And both *Eraſmus*, and the *French* Proteſtant Tranſlators, put the 4th of *Epheſians*, 27th Verſe the ſame Way, and with much Reaſon: *Neither give place to the Devil*; that is, do not by the Sins before-nam'd, or any other ſuch like, give Occaſion to the *Slanderers* to reproach our Religion. *John* 6. 7. *Have not I choſen you twelve, and one of you is a Devil*; not a Devil literally, but a very wicked Traytor, as falſe as the Devil can make him. Speaking of the Character of a Clergyman to be ordained, after having caution'd *Timothy* againſt admitting them too young, he proceeds,

ceeds, *Moreover he muſt have a good Report of them that are without, leſt he fall into Reproach, and the Snare of the Devil,* 1 Tim. 3. 7. It is very obvious why wanting a good Report ſhould give Slanderers an Opportunity of obſtructing their Miniſtry; but why the Devil, for that Reaſon, ſhould have more Power over any virtuous Perſon, is not ſo obvious. And to name but one Place more; a Woman, who had been bowed down, was ſaid to have been bound by *Satan* eighteen Years; but then it is viſible our Saviour only ſpake in that large Senſe, in which they attributed to the Devil all Diſeaſes, even Death it ſelf.

But I will not add more Inſtances, tho' I might add many: For tho' they ſpake in that way, according to the Cuſtoms of that Age, it would not be prudent for us to ſpeak in the ſame, ſince ill Uſe hath been made of it. When the Expreſſions that St. *Paul* had us'd about *Faith* had been perverted, St. *James*, by the Wiſdom given to him of God, taught us to ſpeak with more guard for the Time afterward: And ſince a very pernicious and bloody Uſe hath been made of the Phraſes and Miſtakes about the *Devil*, they are ſurely the ſoundeſt Chriſtians, and ſobereſt Interpreters of Scripture, who are ſparing in the Uſe of it; and never introduce any Spirit, but where they find a real Effect of an inviſible intellectual Agent.

But as I mention theſe Things only in way of Caution or Guard, I ſhall paſs over many others of the ſame Nature, and proceed to the Particulars

lars propos'd; the first of which is, The certain Existence of Spirits.

And for this there is the Belief of all Nations, without excepting one: There are the numerous Facts that are done by Agents supernatural; and there is the Reason and Judgment of our own Minds: For who can believe or imagine, that our weak and sinful Race should be the Head of the Creation? Who can think that in the whole Scale of Beings, our human Nature should be the highest, and that God should have no better Creatures than we are, that know little or nothing either of him or his Works? Who can suppose that our infected, sickly, disturbed Region, should be full of Creatures with Life and Sense, and a high Degree of Reason; and all the pure, immense and celestial Regions above, should be without any: and that even the most sacred Place of God's highest Presence, should not have Creatures, as much more excellent than we are, as the Place it self is more glorious, and fitter for an exalted and happy Life. The natural Judgment of sober Men, and the Guesses that they make from the Analogy of the World, raise them up to so much Faith and Belief of Angels or invisible Spirits; and the sacred Scriptures put the Matter beyond Controversy to every Christian Man.

And to name some few Texts out of these, *Psalm* 8. 5. *For thou hast made him little lower than the Angels, to crown him with Glory and Honour.* Psalm 68. 17. *The Chariots of God are twenty Thousand, even Thousands*

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of Angels; the Lord is amongſt them, as in his Holy Place of Sinai. Matth. 25. 41. *Depart from me, ye curſed, into everlaſting Fire, prepared for the Devil and his Angels.* Heb. 1. 13. *But to which of the Angels ſaid he at any Time, Sit on my right Hand till I make thy Enemies thy Footſtool? Are they not all miniſtring Spirits, ſent forth to miniſter for them who ſhall be Heirs of Salvation?* Ver. 16. *For verily he took not on him the Nature of Angels; but he took on him the Seed of* Abraham. 2 Pet. 2. 4. *For if God ſpared not the Angels that ſinned, but caſt them down to Hell, and deliver'd them into Chains of Darkneſs, to be reſerv'd unto Judgment.*

Theſe Texts are ſo plain, that no Craft or Force can bend or ſtrain them to another Senſe; but all muſt confeſs, that they ſpeak of both good Spirits and bad alſo. A Man muſt deny the Scriptures themſelves, if he denies that theſe Places ſpeak plainly of Angels.

The ſecond Point propos'd, is, their Creation, by the ſame God that gave us our Being: And for this the very firſt Verſe of *Geneſis* hath been always thought to belong plainly to this, *In the Beginning God created the Heaven and the Earth.* This the Fathers of the *Nicene* Council rightly interpreted, That God was the Maker of all Things, *viſible* and *inviſible.* And in this they have St. *Paul* going before them for their Juſtification; *Col.* 1. 16. *For by him were all Things created that are in Heaven and in Earth, viſible and inviſible, whether*

ther they be Thrones, or Dominions, Principalities or Powers; all Things were created by him and for him.

It is true indeed, that ſome *Jewiſh Rabbins*, as well as the firſt *Hereticks*, fancying that there were Worlds before this, even for ever; and that even common Matter was eternal, they muſt in Conſequence ſuppoſe, that the Angelick Subſtances were eternal alſo; for if they allowed Eternity and neceſſary Exiſtence to the meaner corporeal Kind of Subſtances, they could not but attribute the ſame Eternity to the nobler Intellectual, which they plainly ſaw to be of a Kind ſuperiour.

The *Manichees* therefore did not only advance their Fear and Notion of the Devil ſo high, as to make him ſtrong and potent, and the firſt Spring of Evil; but to make his Exiſtence natural, eternal, independent, and even divine, of as long Continuance, at leaſt as the ſupreme Being.

But how contrary to ſound Reaſon as well as Scripture, is this Notion of the Hereticks, or Free-Thinkers of that Age? How plain is it, that it is ſo far from being true, that any kind of Matter hath a neceſſary uncreated Exiſtence, that it is plain that none hath? For to paſs by that noble and well known Argument, That that which is neceſſarily exiſtent, muſt be equally neceſſary at all Times, and in all Places, which *finite* Matter is not; it is plain, that Matter which we ſee, muſt be not only created, but created with great Contrivance; becauſe the Marks of the

the Creators Infinite Wiſdom and Power are upon the firſt Principles of it, as plainly as upon the finiſh'd Works that are produc'd from it. For in the firſt Parts of Matter that we can take into Conſideration, there are found, if I may be allow'd juſt to mention their Names, tho' not Scriptural, *Variety* of *Subſtance*, *Motion*, *Gravitation*, *Elaſticity*, *Attraction*, *Repulſion*, *Sympathy*, *Antipathy*, *Adheſion*, and other Powers, Affections and Qualities, that are wonderful and unaccountable. By theſe diſpos'd and laid in Order by the wiſe Creator, without much following Miracle, Matter becomes the conſtituent Parts, the Inſtrumental or *Second* Cauſe, under God, of all curious Works that we behold in the material Parts of the Univerſe. Now as we readily confeſs and adore the Creator's Power, in the finiſh'd Works of the Creation, do we not ſee it as evidently in the firſt Principles? Do we loſe any Degree of that juſt Wonder we have of the Creator's Power, by going backward in our Examination, from perfected Productions, to the firſt Cauſes that produce them? So far from it, that the Argument gains Strength, and encreaſes to the Creator's Honour. For as in a ſmall *Seed*, a curious Obſerver ſees more Wonder than in a *grown Tree:* So in the firſt Elements of that Seed, he is ſtill more aſtoniſh'd to think what ſtill more minute Parts there can be, that can correſpond ſeverally and diſtinctly to thoſe proper Parts of the Seed, and force their Effects by regular and well-proportion'd Cauſes. All we can ſay is, That God's Power and Wiſdom are infi-

nite, and that it was his Work to produce the first Matter so curious, that in his Hand it might be powerful and effectual for all the following Operations. Unprepar'd and worthless Matter would only have produced a worthless *Chaos* of Confusion. And since it hath produced, not *Confusion* but such Flowers and Fruits, and Works as we see, we must acknowledge, That every Part of Matter, whether great or little, is just such as the Creator was pleas'd to make it.

And now to bring this Digression to the Argument that is before us: If *Matter*, if dead and passive Matter, be yet of such Excellence and Perfection, as to shew the Creator's Power and Wisdom, how much more must the Angelick Natures, that are of a nobler Rank, having a near Resemblance or lively Image of the Divine Nature upon them?

So far therefore we may behold the Truth of our holy Religion with great Pleasure. We see Reason as well Scripture teaches us, That as the Free-Thinkers of our Age fall into the same Tracks of reasoning with the *Manichees* or *Free-Thinkers* of that Time, so they are both erroneous; and that all kind of Matter, or Substance, or whatever you will call it, even the Angelick Substances, receiv'd their Beings from the great Creator. Unless God had pleased there never had been any Angels; for they took their Beginning from the free Gift of God as well as we, and are Fellow-Creatures with us. And the Day when they receiv'd their Beings, is by many thought to be the first Day of the Cre-

ation of our Earth; if at leaſt that firſt Day, or that Phraſe in the Beginning doth not take in a longer Space than a Day doth. To be ſure they were made, either on that firſt Day of that great Week, or ſooner; for with Songs of Praiſes they celebrated the Honour of God, as he made the other Parts of the Earth: *Job* 38. 6, 7. *Whereupon are the Foundations of the Earth faſten'd? Or, who laid the Corner-Stone thereof? When the Morning-Stars ſang together, and all the Sons of God ſhouted for Joy.* With Aſtoniſhment thoſe holy Beings beheld the Wonders of God's Wiſdom, Power and Goodneſs, in our riſing World; and with Shouts of Joy, as they might well, they extoll'd the Praiſes of its Almighty Maker.

But as this not only ſhews them happy, but makes a noble Repreſentation of their Life and Worſhip; the *Fall* of ſome of them is the next, or third Point that the Scripture teaches us for our Warning and earneſt Admonition.

How long they continued: By what Tranſgreſſion they fell: What they could find that ſhould make Beings of ſuch Excellence and Wiſdom, uneaſy under the Government of ſo mild and kind a Creator: What made their fallen State deſerve ſo little Pity, that even the merciful *Jeſus* let them lie unpray'd for, without joining their Caſe with ours in his great Work of Redemption: Theſe are Things that our prying Nature would be glad enough to know; but which the holy Writers have not been impowered to teach us.

Peter Lombard, Father of the Schoolmen, and who is deſervedly own'd to have been a great Man in his way, ſuppoſes that they continued but a few Moments of Time: *Punctum Temporis*, ſaith one of thoſe Schoolmen. That very ſhort Time doth not ſeem probable; becauſe it gives not ſufficient Room for Conſideration, and Choice, and a free Election: And moſt certainly they had a very juſt Law and fair Probation, and their Tranſgreſſion muſt have had ſome very great Aggravation, or their following State of Diminution had not been irreverſible. But as a particular Knowledge of their State is not neceſſary to our Salvation, I ſhall only ſpeak of it in the general Words of St. *Jude*, in the ſixth Verſe of his Epiſtle; *But the Angels that kept not their firſt Eſtate, but left their own Habitation, he hath reſerved in everlaſting Chains under Darkneſs, unto the Judgment of the great Day.* Whatever Loſs they ſuffer'd in their ſecond State, they ſeem to have greater coming upon them, both by this Text, and by their Queſtion to our Saviour, *Art thou come to torment us before the Time?*

3. The fourth Point propos'd to be conſidered, is, their Natures and Qualities. And as they bear a great Reſemblance to the Soul of Man, the Conſideration of our own Souls will lead us neareſt to the true Notion of thoſe Qualities in a low Degree, which they poſſeſs in a higher.

And here we have, firſt, to conſider, not only *Life*, and *Senſation*, and *Self-Motion*, and

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ſomething very like Thought and Memory, which are in the Creatnres, but deeper Reaſoning, Conſcience of moral Good and Evil, Free Will, Contemplation of the Creator; ſuch Knowledge and Schemes of the Univerſe, and the ſeveral Inhabitants of it, as made *Solomon* ſpeak, as if the *Soul of a wiſe Man cover'd the whole Earth.* And as theſe ſurprizing Qualities are of a quite different Nature from the higheſt that I nam'd before of the Mechanick Powers, they lead us to the Thought of a nobler, active Subſtance, ſuperiour to paſſive, inſenſible, dead Matter, and that we take to be the Subſtance of the Angelick Natures and the Souls of Men: And that therefore they have been permanent and laſting, and, with the divine Support, which the Goodneſs of God hath continued to all Things, they will be more abiding than the *Rocks* and *Mountains.* As they ſang together with Shouts of Joy, when God laid the Foundation of the World; ſo when he ſhall come at the laſt to judge it, they will be with him; and having been Witneſſes of his Juſtice and Goodneſs in all his Ways, they will give him Praiſe in Songs Eternal.

The two firſt Qualities therefore that we believe of them, are, that they are *Immaterial* and *Immortal*; and the third may be, that great *Swiftneſs*, and thoſe eaſy Motions that are taught in ſundry Places. *Dan.* 9. 21. *Yea, whilſt I was ſpeaking in Prayer, even the Man* Gabriel, *whom I had ſeen in the Viſion at the beginning, being cauſed to fly ſwiftly, touched*

me about the Time of the Evening Oblation. From what ſacred Place ſoever he had come no Difficulty of the Way had retarded his Motion.

There is hardly any Quality that they have, that does more evidently ſhew their great Excellence above us, and make us more ſenſible of the heavy *Load* of our own mortal Bodies. For we labour, and are out of Breath, in walking ſlow a very ſhort Stage: We are a Burden to the weary Beaſts that carry us; and a few Miles diſtance makes us Strangers, like baniſh'd Men from our next Relations. We may want their Help and Advice in Danger; we may be ſick and die; and our beſt Friends may neither know our Peril, nor be able to haſte to us till our Fate is over—But we ſhall not always be ſuch confin'd Creatures. When our Souls ſhall have put off the Burden of the Fleſh, we doubt not but they will be in this reſpect, like the Angels of God.

4. The Holy Angels are repreſented to us as of great Force and Power, *Pſalm* 103. 20. *Ye that excel in Strength, ye Miniſters of his that do his Pleaſure.* When God gave one of them Commiſſion to deſtroy the *Firſt-born* in *Ægypt*, before Morning there was not one left alive through the whole Land. And in one Night an Angel deſtroy'd the whole Hoſt of the *Aſſyrians.*

5. They are doubtleſs of great Wiſdom and Knowledge; 2 *Sam.* 14. 20. *My Lord is wiſe according to the Wiſdom of an Angel of God, to know all Things that are in the Earth.*

And

And this must almost necessarily follow from their easy Motion, and capacious Faculties, and long Duration: For the great Ignorance that is in Man, is not altogether to be charg'd upon his Incapacity; but Shortness of Life, and the Disadvantage with which we see Things. We live but a little while, and are so confin'd by our natural Weakness and imperfect Sight, that the greatest Wanderer sees but very little and knows but little of what he sees. We can neither judge of Things at a distance, nor are able to go near the greatest part of Things that we want to know. Our dull Eyes can neither bear a bright Object, nor see a little one, nor pierce through the thinnest Covers of those that lie with most Advantage before them. We can neither see God, nor Angels, nor our own Souls, nor the Starry Firmament, with Ability to judge of what we see, nor the heavenly Places. But now was it permitted to us, as it was to St. *Paul*, to be caught up and pass into the Third Heaven, and to see that, not for the length of a Fit of Vision, but as long as the Angels have in a compos'd Temper and perfect Life; the Soul of Man then, tho' with only the Faculties it hath now, would not be without Knowledge, and in Blindness, as it now is: And if Man's Soul, with those Advantages, would be great in Knowledge, as it would be most certainly, how great and sure and extensive must the Knowledge of Angels be, that have beheld God's Works so long with Angelick Powers? Their Wisdom indeed is not so great, but that God can charge them with Folly, and sees their Igno-

rance in many Points that are above their Reach; but compar'd with ours the Extent of their Knowledge is almost above Comparison, and its Certainty is like Sight and Vision. Those of them therefore that delight in Lies must be dangerous Enemies; and the good Spirits must be noble Instruments of God's Providence and Works, and easily able to turn Things into those Chanels into which God shall direct them.

Other Points that are taught concerning them, will fall in, while I speak to the good Uses that we are to make of this Subject: For every one will be apt to enquire, What Inferences can we draw? What Duties do we owe? And what Advantages can we make of this Knowledge? Have we not Reason to fear and tremble before the Bad? And should we not offer up our Worship and Prayers to the Good, to encourage them to the more Readiness in that Ministration that God has given them for us? And the chief Points we are to learn, I believe may be reduc'd under these four Heads.

1. We must never consider the Ministration either of the good Angels or evil, otherwise than as to encrease our Faith in God and his Providence, and to draw us with less Fear and Doubting to put our Trust in him: For after all our boasted Knowledge, what do we know of them certainly, but that they are *Instruments* in the Hand of God. As the *Sun* and *Stars*, and *Fire* and *Air*, and *Plagues*, are *dead Instruments*; these are *living Instruments*, but still *Instruments* in

in the Hand of him, who is as near to us as they are, and could of himſelf act all without them, if he did not chuſe rather to give them that Miniſtration for Reaſons that we know not.

If then we think and ſpeak of them, ſo as to magnify God, who is ſerv'd by ſuch noble Attendance. If we think of them ſo as to ſtrengthen our Belief of God's particular Providence, that cannot be too buſy to take care of any Perſon that deſerves his Protection, ſince he hath appointed ſo many Eyes beſides his own to be continually employ'd in his Service: If we make this Uſe of this Doctrine, we make the beſt uſe that can be, and ſhall have our Minds more full of Piety for the Thoughts we have of them: But if we let our Wonder and Eſteem, and Love. ſtay at them, and have God leſs frequently in our Minds, becauſe our Meditations are upon Angels ſo much, we act then againſt the Order of Reaſon and Nature; and, in way of juſt Rebuke we may know, that God is able, of the very Stones, to raiſe up Angels and Arch-Angels, as well as Children unto *Abraham*.

To prevent any Error in this Matter, (for it would be a very dangerous one) let the Viſion of *Jacob*'s Ladder be our Emblem to explain the the thing. The Angels aſcended and deſcended; but God was at the Head; and the Meſſages that they brought were from his Pleaſure. Again, tho' *Abraham*'s Servant, when he went to take a Wife for *Iſaac*, had an Angel of God to go before him; he made his Prayer to God, and receiv'd Anſwer from him. For as God doth

doth not make them the Miniſters of his Power, with deſign to divide his Honour and Worſhip with them, ſo neither may we divide our Faith and Prayers, but let God be God, and they only his Inſtruments.

But here the Pope and his Adherents accuſe us of Injuſtice and want of Gratitude to thoſe happy Spirits. They tell us of the great Honours that they do them in their Church, and blame ours as being negligent and defective in our Duty.

And if we do deny them any Honour that is their due, we are much to be blam'd; for we have no reaſon to think that they are ever ſlow or backward in any good Office they are employ'd in for our Aſſiſtance: They encamp about our Dwellings to do us good; they catch us from Dangers, proſper our Ways, rejoice at our Converſion; and when we die, they carry our Souls, if good, to the Place of Happineſs: If we withhold from them therefore Eſteem, and Love, and Imitation of their Virtues, we are too dull and ſlow in thoſe Duties that become us; but we Proteſtants, as well as Papiſts, give them theſe kinds of Honour, and give Thanks to God, who is pleas'd to employ them ſo many ways for our Benefit.

What is it then that we deny, and dare not give them? Why it is the *Worſhip* of God: It is *Prayer:* It is ſuch Proſtrations and Geſtures as we uſe both to their ſupreme King and ours: And did ever any holy Angel deſire this from us? Can any ſlanderous Tongue ſtand forth and

give

give Evidence, that ever any good Spirit desir'd or suffer'd himself to be worshipped? The Devil indeed hath often; and offer'd our Saviour all the Kingdoms of the World, if he wou'd fall down before him: But did ever any good Spirit do any thing like it, or covet that Honour which God will not give to another? The Angel that appeared to *Manoah*, taught us another Lesson; *Tho' thou detain me, I will not eat of thy Bread*; *and if thou wilt offer a Burnt-Offering, thou must offer it to the Lord.* See the Angel again that appear'd to St. *John*, in the 19th of *Revel.* ℣. 10. *And I fell at his Feet to worship him*; *and he said unto me, See thou do it not*; *I am thy Fellow-Servant, and of thy Brethren, which have the Testimony of Jesus*; *worship God.* And may we after this be so bold with our Maker, as to divide our Worship betwixt him and them? May we leave that juster and better Reform'd Religion of a Protestant, in this Matter, and make Prayers to an Angel, that for ought we know may be far absent from us, and not know what we are doing? If we do, we may provoke God's Jealousy and Displeasure, and most surely transgress the Rule of his Apostle, *Col.* 2. 18. *Let no Man beguile you of your Reward, in a voluntary Humility, and worshipping of Angels, intruding into those things which he hath not seen, vainly puff'd up by his fleshly Mind.*

But Papists that do make Prayers, and give Worship to Saints and Angels keep such Texts as those are in *Latin*, and read them in that Tongue

Tongue to the People; or else these Scriptures wou'd bring their People to the same right Behaviour that both ours, and other Reform'd Churches teach. Honour and good Will towards Angels, but no Prayers or Altars to them: Honour them, but worship God.

2. As we worship not the good Angels, so neither let us be in over great Dread or Terror for fear of the bad ones. The Prophet *Isaiah* teaches us, Chap. 8. 13. *Sanctify God in your Hearts, and let him be your Fear, and let him be your Dread.* And in Comparison of him, fear nothing else either in Life or Death. *Fear* is the strongest Passion of Man's Mind, and the strongest Spring of Action, that either captivates or holds one Being in the Power of another; and if we suffer either our own Follies, or any wrong Notions to fill our Minds with greater Fears of evil Spirits than we have of God, we make them as terrible, and our selves as miserable before them, as even the evil Spirits can desire to see us.

I add this as a Point to be well consider'd; because many receive Heathenish Stories, that the holy Scriptures never taught them. When the Sun goes down, and the Wild Beasts come out of their Dens, evil Spirits they think come out at the same time from their hidden Places, and roam about the Dark to fright those they meet with. Church-yards and desolate Houses they fancy are much haunted with Ghosts and evil Angels. The Tales they have heard, have made their Minds like Rooms painted with Devils,

vils, and whenever they are afraid in the Dark, their corrupted Imaginations bring thoſe firſt into their Minds. As a poor *Debtor* thinks every Buſh a Bailiff; theſe think every Bough a headleſs Beaſt. But are theſe the Scripture Doctrines concerning Devils? Have Prophets or Apoſtles ever taught us ſuch Facts as theſe are? What the holy Prophets have taught us of them, is, that they are Executioners of ſome of the greater Acts of God's Juſtice. As all the Parts of the Creation; ſo they alſo, when he ſees fit, are Inſtruments in his Hand to fulfil his Will; and if that be the Caſe, they are not afraid of the *Light* or *Day*. Nor will the *Sun* in his Brightneſs turn away their Faces.

But they are not theſe Meſſengers of God's Pleaſure that credulous Men have their Thoughts ſo full of, but imaginary Creatures of their own making: And if we let either thoſe, or what is really true of the evil Spirits, get ground upon us, till they have a greater Share of our Fear than God hath; ſuch Fears are an unfortunate Depravation of the Mind, a great Approach towards the worſt part of the Hereſy of the *Manichees*. They advanc'd their Doctrines of the Devil's Power to that degree, that tho' they ſuppos'd him leſs than the ſupreme good Being; yet they believ'd him (as I mentioned before) *Eternal*, and the Cauſe of all the Diſeaſes and Evils of the Creation. Now tho' we abhor that Doctrine when it is mentioned under the Name of *Manichæiſm*, under which the Church condemn'd it as a Hereſy; yet if by different Notions and

fabulous Tales, we magnify his Power and Presence so far, that we fear him as much as those *Manichees* did. If virtuous Men let their Minds be so full of panick Frights and Terror, that even the Sense of God's Providence cannot keep their Minds as steady and free from fear of the Devil in the Dark as they are in the Light, they have a Spice of a very bad Heresy, and do not know it.

And therefore what the Prophet *Isaiah* spake to the *Jews*, with respect to God and their Enemies, that repeat I a second time with respect to all Fears whatever. *Sanctify the Lord God in your Hearts, and let him be your Fear, and let him him be your Dread.* Live virtuously, and take care to fear him, and then fear nothing else beyond Reason, either Men or Devils.

3. There is a farther Lesson to be learnt from what the holy Writers teach us concerning good and evil Spirits, and that is, Unity under Government. Order and Government are so necessary to all reasonable Beings, that even the Wisdom and Virtue, even of good Angels, would be defective without it; nor doth the Perverseness, even of the evil Spirits, make either Superiors or Inferiors amongst them break the Bonds of Order that are needful to preserve their State. How inexcusable then must we be, if we let our Minds grow too stubborn to be in due Subjection, and how surely must Confusion and Misery be the Consequence?

What Form of Government they have; and in what degree the inferior Spirits have their

Time

Time and Actions diſpos'd of by the ſuperior, I preſume there is no Man will venture to determine: But what Laws they have, even the perverſe Spirits, both ſuperior and inferior, do ſo far obſerve, as not to be much divided; and if they did not, our Saviour tells us, their Kingdom could not ſtand. How forcibly then, I ſay, doth this oblige us all to be governable, and make our private Intereſts eaſily yield to publick Safety? Superiors may learn not to exceed their Power: Inferiors may learn to keep Order and Subjection; and both may learn the Neceſſity of Peace, Juſtice, and Unity. Divided Kingdoms and quarrelſome Men, have one degree of Perverſeneſs above fallen Angels; and where-ever the Sin lies, whether in Superiors or Inferiors, the Guilt of it is great in the Sight of both God and Man.

Laſtly, From the Conſideration of the Miniſtration of the good and evil Spirits about us, we may confirm our ſelves in the Belief of thoſe great things our holy Religion teaches us concerning the Immortality and future State of our own Souls. The Immortality of Angels is a comfortable reviving Pattern to give us hope of our own eternal State: And their Care and Miniſtration about us, let us ſee that in both our future and preſent State, there are Matters of great Moment and Value belong to us. If our Buſineſs in the World was only to heap up Riches, and lade our ſelves with thick Clay; the good and evil Angels would not concern themſelves to make one Man's heap bigger than another's;

another's; and since they do interest themselves in our Lives; since there is Joy amongst the holy Angels at the Conversion of a Sinner; and since the evil Spirits are as busy to seek our Fall, the reason must be, because they understand how mighty is the Consequence one way or the other. There would not be a War in Heaven about us, if all the Dispute was, whose Coffers should be fullest, and who should have most of their Will and Pleasure in this dying Life. Their Concern about our Souls shews the Value of them; and from their Concern about them, let us learn Judgment, and encrease our own Care, and take heed so to order our Lives, that they may not be consigned to that State which God hath prepared for the greatest of those evil Spirits, and all his Instruments of Evil. I will conclude all with a little Variation, with the Collect of our Church, for the Feast of St. *Michael* and all Angels.

O God, who hast ordain'd and constituted the Services of Angels and Men in a wonderful Order, mercifully grant, that as thy holy Angels always do thee Service in Heaven, so on Earth they may assist and further us in the Race of all Goodness, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

FINIS.